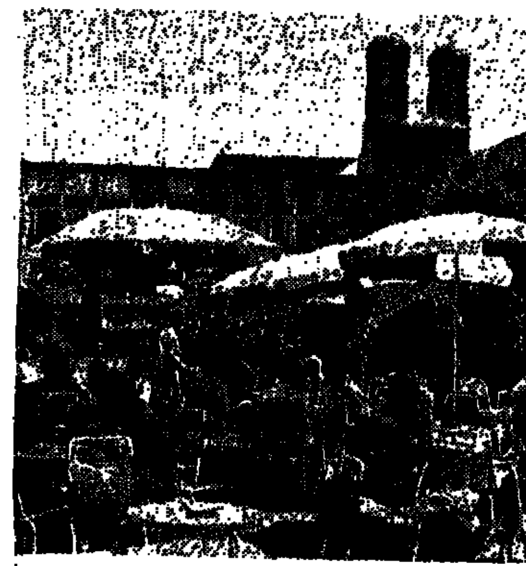
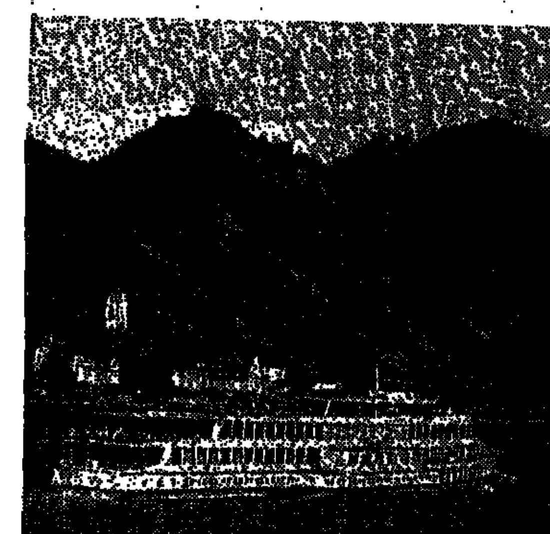
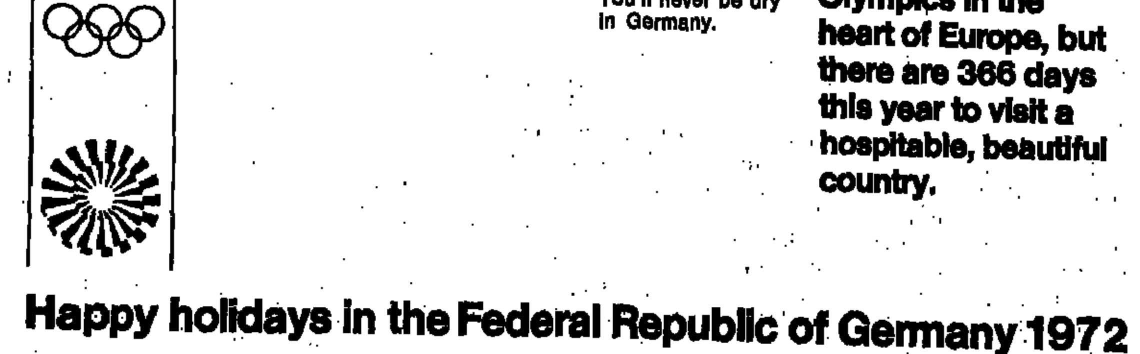












The German Tribune

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Salt talks seem to be nearing a conclusion

After last-minute complications it now seems certain that a partial agreement on limitation of the number of strategic weapons will be signed in the course of President Nixon's Moscow visit.

Ever since the joint communiqué of 20 May 1971 the likelihood has been that after two and a half years of talks partial agreement on strategic arms limitation would be reached sooner or later.

The Salt talks have since dragged on, though, which only goes to show what obstacles the Soviet Union still had to surmount.

The succession of adjournments in Helsinki bears witness to urgent intervention by the two men mainly responsible in Washington and Moscow at what could only be the crucial final stage of the negotiations.

In all major talks involving power politics there is a crucial final phase during which the two sides review the logic and consequences of their commitments and those of the other party to the negotiations.

In this instance the other side is the potential enemy and at the same time the only conceivable partner in an overall security policy aimed at eliminating the risk of nuclear warfare.

When security interests are directly and intricately linked with power interests and weapons systems and armaments programmes affect not only the military set-up of one country but of entire alliances and the alliance potentials of the respective great powers, the delay occasioned by critical reappraisal cannot fail to be particularly protracted and intractable.

The main issue at stake in the Salt talks is Soviet armaments strategy, the United States having maintained its stockpile of strategic missiles at a constant level since 1968.

America's strategic potential peaked in 1967, then, with 1,054 land-based nuclear missiles and a further 656 on board 41 submarines.

Washington could, of course, afford to freeze its strategic firepower at the 1967 level as long as Moscow could only lay claim to 460 land-based ICBMs and 130 seaborne missiles.

In 1968 America concluded its missile production programme while the Soviet Union continued with an all-out attempt to bridge the gap. The result was a second major change of emphasis in the nuclear arms race.

Between 1961 and 1967 the Americans had gone to great lengths to ensure supremacy in strike capacity with the aid of Minuteman and Polaris missiles, thereby also maintaining a credible retaliatory capacity in the event of a nuclear attack on the United States.

In 1967 and 1968 it was Russia's turn to make an all-out attempt to make good this backlog.

When the first Salt conference was convened in Helsinki in autumn 1969 the Soviet Union had achieved quantitative parity with the United States in land-based ICBMs – an estimated 1,050 as opposed to America's 1,054.

America retained maritime superiority with its Polaris submarines, however, and was in the process of boosting its offensive capacity with the development of multiple-warhead MIRV missiles.

By 1970 the Soviet Union had outstripped America's Minuteman capacity with an estimated 1,300 land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and was well on the way towards quantitative supremacy whereas the United States made do with an "adequate deterrent potential."

In 1971 the Soviet Union boasted some 1,510 ICBMs and 440 seaborne missiles. According to Western estimates ten to twelve Soviet nuclear missile submarines were under construction, from which it could be concluded that Russia would be increasing its strategic potential to the tune of between 160 and 190 missiles per annum.



Rogers in Bonn

American Secretary of State William Rogers (left) was welcomed on his arrival in Bonn by West German Foreign Affairs Minister Walter Scheel (right) and the newly appointed American ambassador in Bonn, Martin Hillenbrandt (Photo: dpa)

By 1973, US Defence Secretary Laird surmised, the Soviet Union could well have a larger number of seaborne nuclear missiles at its disposal than the United States.

At present the United States is working on the assumption that the Red Fleet has some 25 nuclear-armed submarines in operation and seventeen to eighteen either under construction or in the process of being fitted out.

The time had come to reach a decision. Were the Soviet Union to continue to boost its nuclear potential at this rate it would, in the foreseeable future, have achieved so great a numerical superiority that the credibility of America's retaliatory capacity would be in jeopardy.

The 280 known Soviet SS 9 ICBMs made a decision even more urgent since their twenty- to 25-megaton thermonuclear warheads are capable of putting a number of Minuteman launching pads out of action.

The Soviet arms programme has proved so dynamic that the Nixon administration, as the President and Defence Secretary Laird have pointed out, had no alternative but to pave the way for a fresh arms race over and above the 1967/68 level in case the Russians refused to incorporate in the first Salt agreement at least the principle of a limitation in the number of Soviet submarines and missiles.

The Soviet delegation countered by demanding that American tactical nuclear weapons within striking distance of Soviet territory – nuclear bombers, that is – also be included in the agreement.

The Soviet side even went so far as to

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Sadat dares prophecy once more

President Sadat of Egypt has once more ventured on to the slippery slopes of prophecy, proclaming on Mohammed's birthday that next year's anniversary of the Prophet's birthday will be observed by a victorious Egypt.

He then flew for the second time in a matter of months to Moscow. On his return, bolstered by Soviet promises of more arms deliveries, he even went so far as to say that the sacrifice of a million Egyptians would not be too great if it were to mean victory over Israel.

The Moscow communiqué was far more reserved, noting merely that the two sides had agreed that "other than exclusively political means may be employed to regain the occupied territories."

Last year President Sadat volubly proclaimed that the die had to be cast in 1971 and when no action was taken he ran into serious domestic difficulties as a result of the need to resort to feeble excuses.

It is bad that he has failed to learn from past mistakes – regardless whether or not the Soviet leaders are now prepared to supply him with the lastest in offensive weapons, particularly missiles and fighter bombers.

President Sadat can hardly have failed to realise that his warlike noises are only tolerated by the Soviet leaders at the present juncture because the Kremlin would like to increase the pressure on Mr Nixon during his talks in Moscow.

That is to say, it is not a matter of Egypt but of compensation for concessions made in other sectors. President Sadat has once again allowed himself to be manoeuvred into the position of a chessman – and chessman, it will be remembered, can be sacrificed.

The misunderstanding that is at the back of all these manoeuvres is a mistaken assessment of America's power to influence developments.

It is an open secret that even now the Americans would prefer Israel to adopt a more conciliatory attitude and are inetersted in coming to a compromise in the Middle East despite the vituperation aimed in Washington's direction by the Arab world.

But it is a mistake on Cairo's and Moscow's part to presume that Israel's policies are determined in Washington in the final analysis. The pressure Washington can bring to bear on Jerusalem is limited. Nowhere in the West are there satellites that simply do as they are told.

By supplying Cairo with fresh armaments Moscow is merely providing the Israelis with an opportunity of bringing greater pressure to bear on Washington to follow suit.

This is just what the Kremlin has in mind. The Soviet leaders would like to welcome an American leader who is in a jam in the Middle East as well as in Vietnam and has little room to manoeuvre.

Fresh student unrest in Cairo shows how little President Sadat stands to gain from being used in the game. Wild threats are likely to make him appear an even less credible figure at home too.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 5 May 1972)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

World's fate is no longer decided by the Big Three

It has come to be something of a time-honoured tradition in the West to suppose that one or other of the two Communist great powers is at the back of every major international crisis.

The no-holds-barred war in Vietnam is a well-nigh perfect example. Less than seven years ago President Johnson accused Peking of being the sole instigator of the blood shed in Vietnam.

The Chinese Communists, Lyndon B. Johnson noted in a Presidential address, were aiming not only at South Vietnam. Their aim was to gain control over all Asia.

In spring 1972, following President Nixon's visit to Peking, this justification of US escalation in Vietnam, made emphatically enough at the time, has a hollow ring.

Nowadays no one would dare insinuate that the Chinese leaders are responsible for the North Vietnamese offensive. According to the latest official commentaries in Washington the blame can be laid at the door of the other Communist great power, the Soviet Union.

Current developments in Vietnam are, it is intimated, the result of Soviet calculations, not North Vietnamese. The North Vietnamese would have been unable to launch the offensive had it not been for Soviet arms deliveries, and the Soviet Union, it is further argued, evidently hope thereby to strengthen their hand in Hanoi in relation to Peking.

It is doubtful, however, whether Moscow can be interested in an offensive at the present juncture. The full-scale North Vietnamese offensive is, when all is said and done, a risky business. Washington might feel forced to review its Vietnam policy.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Soviet Union is vitally interested at the moment in conducting important negotiations with the United States in as unconstrained an atmosphere as possible.

The issues at stake are of far more direct importance to the Soviet Union than a spectuacular victory for its ally Hanoi, which in the final analysis would only be of peripheral importance.

The Soviet government would like to bring the Salt talks to what it considers a successful conclusion. It is also pressing for a European security conference, which stands no chance of success unless the United States is willing to allow it to be one.

For vital interests of its own in a number of sectors Moscow is keen on negotiating with Washington – with a view to cooperation in space, in the maritime sphere and in trade policies, for instance.

All this would be seriously called into question if the United States were to be challenged too intolerably in Vietnam. So it is by no means out of the question that Hanoi went ahead on its own initiative and launched its offensive at an earlier juncture than can have been to the liking of the Soviet Union, its great power ally.

Once all American troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam Moscow too may feel the time is ripe to settle matters in Indo-China, but at present the risk of a fateful confrontation is too great.

America would not take a Dunkirk in Vietnam, where 800,000 troops and advisers might be stranded, sitting down. The resumption of bombardment of North Vietnam (the Pentagon being as well aware as anyone else that this is probably a pointless move) can only be taken as an unambiguous warning note addressed to Hanoi and Moscow.

In the circumstances it is doubtful whether Moscow can have deliberately encouraged Hanoi to launch the offensive when it did but it is just as doubtful whether there is much that can be expected of a Soviet attempt to persuade Hanoi to behave in greater moderation.

North Vietnam has good reason for not allowing others to interfere in its own affairs. Hanoi still has bitter memories of 1954, when, after the resounding communist victory at Dien Bien Phu, Moscow forced Hanoi to negotiate at Geneva, where the North was promptly robbed of the spoils that had seemed so nearly within its grasp.

Today, eighteen years later, the world at large sets even greater store by negotiation and cooperation. Hanoi was most suspicious of President Nixon's visit to Peking and will doubtless be rather anxious about his forthcoming visit to Moscow.

It could well be that Hanoi's offensive is not intended first and foremost to expose the US vietnamisation policy to ridicule but to present America's communist opposite numbers with a fait accompli that will make it extraordinarily difficult to reach agreement at North Vietnam's expense.

It remains to be seen whether Hanoi's political arithmetic is correct. North Vietnam having gone it alone already proves how untrue it is to claim that the fate of the world is now decided by the Big Three of Moscow, Peking and Washington.

A small but determined country such as North Vietnam can put a spoke in the wheel of the foreign policy timetable of the great powers. Hanoi is in a position to carry out moves the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the borders of Indo-China.

Harry Hamm

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 May 1972)

Waldheim's Mid-East proposals cause little enthusiasm in Israel

Israel has responded with marked scepticism to the proposal by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for a conference on the Middle East to be held in August under the auspices of the United Nations and to be attended by representatives of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel.

Waldheim recently informed the Israeli and Egyptian UN delegates of details of his plan.

Two points particularly strike the Israelis. One is that Herr Waldheim has chosen this particular juncture, [illegible] weeks before the summit meeting between President Nixon and Soviet Premier Kosygin in Moscow, to launch proposals and is thus anxious to ensure that the United Nations is not deprived of its prerogative to deal with the conflict.

The other, rather more intriguing point is that the reports from New York giving details of the Waldheim Plan inadvertently failed to mention the name of UN mediator Gunnar Jarring.

Waldheim, it is said, envisages what [illegible] initially be indirect talks between the parties concerned. Providing things go smoothly direct talks will then be the next aim.

Israeli doubts are based on past experience. In 1939 Britain, which in those days held the League of Nations mandate for Palestine, summoned a conference between Jews and Arabs in London. The conference proved a failure because representatives of the Arab countries refused to sit at the same table with Jews.

Ten years later, in April 1949, a conference called by the United Nations in Lausanne came to naught for the same reasons.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 April 1972)

Kremlin leaders need the Nixon visit as much as Nixon

Summit meetings between American Presidents and Kremlin leaders have always been ill-fated. Twice in the past international crises have wrought havoc with White House plans.

The May 1960 Four-Power talks in Paris came to grief when an American U 2 reconnaissance plane was shot down over Siberia. This put an end to President Eisenhower's hopes of a visit to the Kremlin.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 subsequently forced President Johnson to abandon his plans for a summit meeting in Leningrad too.

Is President Nixon's Moscow visit doomed to failure? For a while it looked as though it might be. The visit seemed to be on the point of being called off because of developments in Vietnam, where US bombers face artillery and anti-aircraft fire from weapons supplied by the Soviet Union.

But the danger of a fiasco was averted. Following four days of confidential talks between Leonid Brezhnev and Henry Kissinger it has been announced that President Nixon will arrive in Moscow on 22 May as arranged.

One reason why the summit will take place as arranged is that the Kremlin leaders are most anxious that it should. It is one of the principal components of the programme of detente and disengagement the colours of which Mr Brezhnev has nailed to his mast.

What is more, both sides would appear to have agreed to omit Vietnam from the agenda as far as possible, differentiating between a peripheral hot-spot and the two superpowers' main interests, these being Salt, European security, troop cuts and trade agreements.

In order to pave the way for the summit Mr Nixon hs consented to a resumption of the Paris Vietnam talks. Washington has abandoned its demand that North Vietnam withdraw the troops that have invaded the South prior to a resumption of talks and in return General Secretary Brezhnev has undertaken to urge Hanoi to engage in serious and productive negotiations with the Americans.

By way of reassuring President Nixon Le Duc Tho, the spokesman for the North Vietnamese politbureau, stated on his return from Hanoi that "We do not by any means want to impose a communist regime on South Vietnam."

Yet while everything has thus returned largely to normal on the diplomatic front Mr Nixon's military position in Vietnam itself is rapidly worsening, and Le Duc Tho in Paris will not be surrendering the gains made by General Giap's troops in Vietnam.

The military humiliation of Saigon, a development that Mr Nixon is unwilling to permit but unable to prevent, is bound to have political repercussions.

Mr Nixon will be unable completely to eliminate the shadow of the Vietnam debacle from the Moscow summit. The powerful international political role he intended playing to an alarmed Kremlin audience following his Peking coup has been adversely affected by the military setback sustained in Vietnam.

Mr Brezhnev, on the other hand, who has called on Europe, the Middle East, India and Japan to redress the balance and is now even trying to curry favour with Peking by means of fresh frontier offers, is in that much the stronger a position.

Up until the last moment Mr Nixon and Dr Kissinger, his National Security Adviser, had felt it would prove possible to make play with Chinese and Russian ties as a means of negotiating a satisfactory solution in Vietnam.

But total diplomacy and a changing and exploitable balance of power have failed to do the trick. As a historian Dr Kissinger once wrote about Prince Metternich that "he had to bring into being not only the doctrine but also the substance of the balance of power." As a foreign policy specialist this is a problem Dr Kissinger still has to solve.

He may have returned from Moscow with an assurance that the summit can still be held but this does not by a long chalk necessarily mean that the summit is going to prove a success for President Nixon.

Andreas Kohlschütter

(Die Zeit, 5 May 1972)

Salt talks

Continued from page 1

demand that America undertake not to supply other countries with the means of conveying nuclear warheads.

The terms of the Salt agreement will reveal the extent to which the two sides have agreed to undertakings of this kind. They will also show how much further than the initial target, an agreement to limit the number of anti-ballistic missiles, the two sides have gone with such undertakings and declarations of intent.

All other nuclear arms mentioned in the course of the Salt talks have been shelved for the time being. They will be the subject of further rounds of negotiations.

Lothar Ruehl

(Die Welt, 4 May 1972)

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POLITICS

Ceasefire after censure motion gives time for thought

The trial of strength in Bonn in the last week of April ended quite rationally with a joint appraisal of the situation by the political opponents. Thus the democratic basis of politics in this country remains intact after the heat of battle.

Willy Brandt won the battle of the no-confidence vote on the Thursday (27 April) only to be beaten on the Friday. He stretched out an inviting hand to Thursday's loser, Friday's winner, Rainer Candidus Barzel.

Franz Josef Strauss and Herbert Wehner, Walter Scheel and Gerhard Schröder, Helmut Schmidt and Richard Stücklen were all on hand to discuss the political emergency and, perhaps without giving ground in their political aims, to defuse it.

Their meeting alone was important politically. Bonn is not Weimar. The course of the discussions on the weekend following Bonn's most exciting couple of days for years and the meetings, speeches etcetera on May-Day underline this fact.

Of course neither camp yet knows which way the battle will swing if it continues. It would be a good thing if this intermezzo were not just a ceasefire, but were also used as a pause for thought. This is the first time such a conflict and a stalement has occurred in the still young Federal Republic and it is important to see if it can be overcome both from the point of view of content and style in a way that will set an example and create norms.

Political facts of life and Basic Law *must be the basis.* The fact the Opposition must face is that it does not have a majority and hence no mandate for deposing the Brandt/Scheel government and replacing it by one with Barzel as Chancellor.

The SPD/FDP coalition has the Berlin votes which give it a majority with regard to government business and allow it to hold sway on a normal agenda. But on votes such as the budget and the ratification of the Treaties, when the 22 Berliners may not vote, the government has at the moment only 247 votes on which it can definitely rely owing to the uncertain allegiance of Gerhard Kienbaum. This is the same number of votes as are available to the government.

But with Kienbaum maintaining respectability by giving up his seat Rudolf Opitz would bring back a 248th vote to the government, behind which he stands solid on foreign and domestic policies. This would once again give the government a simple majority over the Opposition's 247 votes (246 CDU/CSU plus Wilhelm Helms).

The way Helms votes varies from day to day and can no longer be relied upon. The vote of Baron Knut von Kühlmann-Stumm remains open and he only intends now to vote on the Treaties. But Barzel and Strauss cannot rely on his vote to overthrow the government.

According to this country's constitution a government is only deposed when a new Chancellor is elected by at least 249 votes, the absolute majority in the House. Whoever is Chancellor can hold his position with as many as 248 votes against him and no majority. Such a state of affairs may be unpleasant and unfortunate but the fathers of the constitution made the rules such on purpose. Experience from the days of the Weimar Republic showed how advisable it was to make a change of Chancellor in the midst of a legislative period difficult to achieve.

This is only possible, it is hoped, when the Chancellor himself feels the need for a vote of confidence, fails to achieve it and then agrees with the President that it is essential to dissolve the Bundestag within the next 21 days.

What the originators of Basic Law did not take into account was the majority against new elections that was to be feared from members fearing for their daily allowance and pensions. A member, which ever party he belongs to, who was elected in 1965 and only becomes due for the legal pension after eight years in he Bundestag, namely 1973, may, in the secret ballot where no one knows which way he has voted, think of his living first and relegate the interests of his party and government to second place.

This argument against new elections must unfortunately be taken into account by all sides. In addition the challenge of emotions in an election campaign that is not confined to national affairs but also touches on vital matters of international interest could mean that the neatest and most democratic way out of an impasse is not necessarily the best or cleverest.

If there still is a prospect of the government and Opposition finding a common denominator for the ratification of the Treaties without interfering with the international timetable of East-West detente moves it should not be a question of whether the ratification debate takes place this week or next.

If it were possible to make the decision that could pave the way to a European security conference before Nixon's visit to Moscow (22 May) and the Nato Conference (30 May) then the acute crisis in Bonn would be over.

Barzel has never said a definite No to the Treaties and Strauss is well aware of the international repercussions if they are not ratified. They are also responsible for whether the crisis is to be overcome and if so how.

Reinhard Appel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 May 1972)

Opposition's budget policy serves only short-term tactics

The Federal Republic's proposed budget for the coming year has to be presented to the Bundestag by the government and passed with an absolute majority before it can be accepted. The day after Willy Brandt survived the no-confidence motion by just two votes he suffered the disappointment of seeing a "tie" on the budget, which meant its rejection.

The budget, however, is able to weather a postponement or a motion of "not in this form" much better than a treaty that has already been negotiated and signed but which requires ratification. In this respect Basic Law was wrought in a manner that was not possible for foreign policy.

Rainer Barzel and the Opposition know that the government can continue to manage its financial affairs even without an approved budget. But this hanging in mid-air situation is very unconfortable, especially if it is to last for some time. So, in the interests of the State, both sides must devote as much time and effort to the budget as to the East Bloc Treaties.

At the moment it is not clear when the next budget discussions and the third reading will take place. Will it be before or after the Treaties? Will there be a regular parliamentary discussion of it at all in the near future?

For political and parliamentary as well as economic and financial reasons this uncertainty gives rise to great concern. Control of State finances is one of the prime parliamentary rights. If the Bundestag is prevented from handling these matters the whole parliamentary system is the worse. Government without an approved budget can only be a short-term expedient or the constitution will be undermined.

The Opposition must realise this. It is a thoroughly negative attitude with only short-term tactical advantages for the Opposition to cripple the government it cannot kill off.

Even the Opposition must see that this is no good as a long-term strategy. The economy must be taken into consideration as well. Political uncertainty gives rise to nervousness on the stock exchange, in industry and in trade. With the budget postponed certain sectors of the economy could be affected directly. One should not underestimate the effect on the building trade, which relies heavily on government contracts.

It is most important that the talks that have begun between the government and Opposition should lead to rapprochement on economic and finance policies and on the 1972 budget.

At the moment the gulf between the two yawns wide, at least if statements made in public are to be believed. In recent weeks they have been dominated by talk of the Baden-Württemberg elections and then the attempted usurpation of the government. "Financial chaos" was the warcry on the one side, "a budget that suits the state of the economy" was the claim made by the other side.

In recent days Professor Schiller has made a number of moves that have not been fully appreciated in the hurlyburly of battle. His statement that he intended to reduce the level of new indebtedness of the government by 1,300 million Marks to 6,000 million Marks and hoped to persuade the Federal states to make similar cuts, if necessary with the aid of the economic stabilisation act, his assurance that the new indebtedness in the next year would be different, that is to say lower, for economic reasons than in the current year — all this should have been music to the Opposition's ears.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary parties have put forward a resolution for the third reading of the budget in which the high level of indebtedness of the government is criticised and a far-reaching tidying up programme is demanded. Whether a bridge can be built between their demands and the proposals made by Karl Schiller is something that will only become evident in the speeches during the next few weeks.

In recent weeks the Opposition has demanded specific economies from the government. But the CDU/CSU have a few questions to ask themselves, especially as there has been no lack of suggestions for costly reforms from their camp in the past two years.

The panic cry of financial chaos needs looking at, as well. Chaos would wither and could mean that the State could not meet up to its financial commitments, or that it could only do so by means of highly inflationary measures. There can be no question of this, even though prices are still not stable. It is time to ditch these screaming slogans.

The budget for 1972 is not a holy scripture that is not open to alterations and amendments. It can be adjusted to serve the "policy of cautiousness in finance policy as well as in economic policy" that Schiller spoke of in the budget debate, which was scarcely recognisable for what it was. The 1972 budget is better than it is cracked up to be and should be approved by the House.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 May 1972)

Brandt's slim majority in action

In the two and a half years of office of the SPD/FDP government the coalition has never suffered a parliamentary defeat. But there are still doubts whether the socialists and liberals can keep their heads above water with their mini-majority.

The following are the stages of the government's progress despite the odds:

October 1969: The new government has 254 voting members as opposed to the Opposition's 242. Willy Brandt is elected Chancellor by 251 votes.

October 1970: Bundestag members Erich Mende, Kurt Starke and Siegfried Zoglmann oppose the *coalition's policies* and quit the FDP.

November 1970: CDU Federal state Chairman Richard Stücklen announces the defection of Karl Geldner from the FDP. But Geldner declares that his apparent underhand dealings with the CSU were simply designed to show up the Opposition's attempts to seduce government members over to their side.

February 1972: Herbert Hupka (SPD) a non-voting member from Berlin along with party colleagues Willy Bartsch and Hupka withdraws from the Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee and guests with the Opposition parliamentary group. Knut von Kühlmann-Stumm (FDP) declares that he has an open mind towards the Treaties.

5 March: Opposition leader Rainer Barzel calls a premature general election the "tidiest solution". The CSU shows greater reserve.

6 March: Questioned on their reactions to a *Spiegel* article about "doubtful cases" in the government coalition Gerhard Kienbaum and Wilhelm Helms of the FDP stated that they were not certain about the attitudes they would to the Treaties.

15 March: *SPD* member Müller threatened to quit the party because of the dispute with the Munich branch. On 19 April Müller stated that he would stay with the SPD. He was in favour of the Treaties and nothing had changed in this respect.

12 April: During government/Opposition talks on the Treaties Barzel, it was later learnt, handed to Brandt alleged extracts from the secret documents to the Moscow Treaty which had been sent to him anonymously and would have to be checked. Kienbaum announced his intention to vote for the Treaties.

16 April: *Welt am Sonntag* reported on the anonymous extracts from the protocols. In the paper Barzel demanded that these secret documents would now have to be published.

17 April: *Quick* magazine distributed an edition with extracts from these documents. *Die Welt* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine* also published the text.

20 April: The government stated that Barzel had "given political support" to a plan to publish "distorted extracts" from the governments secret papers on the Moscow Treaty by means of "criminal acts of breach of faith and missrepresentation to the public". The government expressed its grave concern that remarks made in confidence by the Soviet Prime Minister and Foreign Minister should have been quoted. State Secretary Paul Frank said on the *ZDF Magazin* television programme that "German agents" were working against the Foreign Office.

23 April: Barely an hour before the polling stations in Baden-Württemberg closed Wilhelm Helms (FDP) announced his decision to quit the party. This left the government coalition with the bare bones of an absolute majority, and of the 249 members remaining Knut von Kühlmann-Stumm was still wavering over the Treaties. The CDU gained the absolute majority in the election, leaving the CDU/CSU states in the Bundesrat with a 21:20 majority and the opportunity to appeal against the Treaties.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 28 April 1972)

■ GDR

Erich Honecker in office a year introduces a pragmatic approach

DIE ZEIT

"It is an incentive when the strain of daily work is of more direct benefit to family, friends and colleagues than in the past," Erich Honecker wrote recently in *Pravda*.

But in a speech he gave at the Leipzig Trade Fair at the beginning of March he demanded that ideological questions should not be pushed into the background but should play a dominant role.

Honecker said in a speech he gave on the island of Rügen in January that the Federal Republic was a foreign country and, what was more, an imperialist foreign country. "We have a precise picture of the enemy," he commented.

No more than three months later in Sofia he spoke of good neighbourly relations between the two German States and the prospect of cooperation in the interests of peace and in the interests of their inhabitants.

Many Western observers find contradictions in the policy pursued by Socialist Unity Party (SED) boss Erich Honecker. Honecker himself explains this away by mentioning his strength of principle and flexibility.

When Honecker succeeded Walter Ulbricht, some observers were too hasty in writing him off as an inflexible dogmatist and a man for whom only the internal security of the State and the functioning of the party apparatus were important. "The end of all policy" was forecast alongside an even harsher and more extreme course.

In the meantime Erich Honecker, whose strength of principle was never a matter of doubt, has shown such a measure of flexibility that even more cautious observers have been surprised. He has introduced so many fresh ideas into East German policy that doubts as to his qualities as leader have long subsided.

Honecker is certainly not a discriminating thinker. His attempts to replace party jargon with clear, objective language may also be connected with the fact that he knows how simple the thought processes of workers normally are.

Whenever Honecker wishes to convert his principles into respectable ideological form, this task is taken over by the ever-eager Kurt Hager, the party intellectual.

Honecker's language is plainer than that of ideologist Hager but it is not flat. Hermann Rudolph, a journalist on the staff of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, managed to smuggle himself into a politburo group touring the Leipzig Trade Fair and he reports that, from close up, his face was more than that of the youngster grown old as he is always described because of his many years as head of the East German youth organisation.

Photographs show a meditative, inconspicious man without the icy arrogance that is often the feature of higher party echelons.

"Honecker lacks presumption," Rudolph writes. "He appears as a *primus inter pares*, a conscientious party worker always wanting a friendly atmosphere."

Personality cults and the allures of a head of state are foreign to Honecker. Up to now he has remained faithful to the principle of collectivity as the supreme principle of all elected leaderships, as he stated at the Eighth Party Congress.

His words could have been ascribed at the time to his position within the party. But the changes he has introduced in the style and the work of the party permit only two explanations. He either possesses enough power and influence to overcome his rivals or he has few opponents left within the SED, a state of affairs that never occurred in the past.

Honecker's sober style seems to appeal to his party colleagues. Observers do not gain the impression that Ulbricht is missed. Ulbricht, now grown thinner and with trembling voice, is still allowed to hand out award and decorations. Honecker knows that he would not be where he is today if it had not been for Ulbricht. But he is less of a visionary than Ulbricht and at the same time more class conscious.

Honecker's class-consciousness is expressed above all in his social services policy. Human needs must be given priority during planning work.

He thinks above all of the needs of the worker. Areas where workers live should be given priority when goods are being supplied. Building work should be of benefit to working-class areas.

Working-class families and families with a large number of children are to benefit from house-ownership schemes. The same is true of the planned improvements in holidays and paid convalescence.

It is no longer the semi-official employers, artisans and doctors who are to form the privileged classes in East Germany but the workers. Their functionaries will continue to be in a privileged position.

Almost all the new ideas put forward by Honecker during his first year in office are aimed at an increase of objectivity, efficiency and class-consciousness. The State apparatus should function better and, if possible, not grow any larger. The party should be more convincing, should provide more impetus and supervision. This almost amounts to a division of functions even though he always stresses the unity of the Socialist State.

Science should yield better results. More discussion is therefore being demanded from scientists. Manfred von Ardenne stated bluntly in an interview that one wrong decision by a committee of party officials could cost the State hundreds of millions of Marks.

In order not to allow scientists too much latitude, Honecker stresses the superior position of politics. The same is true where literature and art are concerned. There should be no taboos concerning content or style, Honecker states, adding however that there should by no concessions to alien ideologies.

These are not just words. There are indications of words being followed by deeds. There seems to be a partial improvement in the climate of the German Democratic Republic. It is difficult to say how much this is due to the need to adapt to the policy of detente and how much to the wish of the party leadership to make society more efficent and people more contented.

One thing is certain. Though many of Honecker's speeches sound conciliatory he is a confirmed opponent of the Western social system. Erich Honecker found during the Weimar Republic and more painfully, during the Third Reich that it is impossible to change from to avoid taking sides.

Joachim Nawrocki

(Die Zeit, 28 April 1972)

Government welcomes the Berlin transport agreement

The government and coalition parties have expressed their great satisfaction at the surprisingly quick conclusion of the transport negotiations conducted by State Secretary Egon Bahr of the Chancellor's Office and Michael Kohl of the East German Ministerial Council.

Chancellor Brandt told a party meeting held in Bonn on the morning of 27 April that the application of the general transport agreement to West Berlin was guaranteed.

The first attempt to conclude an agreement of this type with the German Democratic Republic had now proved successful, Brandt added. He believed that this was the GDR's response to the statement he made at the Kassel summit that there should be more cooperation between the two German States.

The East German government has announced that a number of alleviations will be implemented when the traffic regulations come into force. East German subjects will be able to travel to the Federal Republic for emergency family nature reasons. West Germans would be allowed to visit friends and relatives in the East and to accept invitations to enter the GDR for commercial, sporting and religious reasons. Tourists will be able to visit the GDR on chartered trips arranged by tour operators.

The traffic agreement will shortly be initialled in Bonn though it will not be signed nor come into force until West Germany's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland are ratified.

Bahr stated that the agreement's validity for West Berlin — one of the main points of contention during negotiations — would be "regulated within the framework of the legislation of the Federal Republic in agreement with the Four Power Agreement".

The announcement about the conclusion of negotiations also stated that an agreement on the settling of damages incurred in road accidents and the recognition of each other's insurance policies had been signed in East Berlin by the East Germany Ministry of Finance and the West German Ministry of Justice.

Bahr and Kohl stated after negotiations ended that the traffic agreement was the first State treaty to be concluded between the Federal and the GDR. Bahr added that the treaty needed the approval of the legislative bodies.

Referring to a speech by party-leader Honecker in Sofia, Kohl said that once West Germany's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland had been ratified the German Democratic Republic would be prepared to enter negotiations with the Federal Republic concerning the establishment of normal relations between the two countries and the agreements required to this end.

Bahr stated that the East Germans had made a number of concessions in the final stages of the negotiations. In future travellers to the GDR will be allowed to take their cars with them to a greater extent than is now the case. The restrictions on the value of gifts that can be imported will also be eased. The border crossing-points at Horst and Wartha would also be opened to transit traffic, Bahr stated.

Asked by journalists why East Germans were not being allowed to travel to the Federal Republic for touristic, cultural and other reasons, Kohl replied, "Conditions in the West are not as we would like them. They have been improving in the past two years but we first want to ensure that there will be normal relations that really conform to the principles of coexistence. Then the travel opportunities can be expanded."

"I am very grateful for what State Secretary Kohl has just said," Bahr added. "It shows that there could be developments."

Questions of air travel are not covered by the agreement. A statement of intent is to be made to the effect that an agreement governing this point will be reached in future.

When an East German journalist wanted to know whether Rainer Barzel and Franz Josef Strauss, the Opposition leaders, would have gained more from the negotiations, Bahr replied, "I don't think so and I hope that we shall never have to find out."

"I can answer in three words," State Secretary Kohl added, "No, no and once again no. Nothing like this would or could have resulted from negotiations with Herr Barzel."

Kohl hinted at the question of recognition by making a special point of the fact that there was a lot of ballast to be removed as far as the two countries' relations with other States and international organisations were concerned.

There were things on which he could give a harsh verdict, he said. But he wanted to be fair. After all, he and State Secretary Bahr had a 48-hour working day behind them. "You see we don't want to argue," Bahr added. "Not at the present moment anyway, Herr Bahr," Kohl quipped.

The two State Secretaries did not begin their press conference at the House of the Ministerial Council on East Berlin's Marx kenmarkt until a quarter past eleven at night. Tense hours had preceded the press conference that was broadcast live by East German television.

The East German Foreign Ministry had invited Western journalists to East Berlin on the afternoon of the 26 April when it thought that the agreement *would* be signed. At about five o'clock the hundred or so journalists present were informed that the ceremony had to be postponed as Bahr had not returned from Bonn.

At that time Bahr was conferring with Chancellor Brandt and Foreign Minister Walter Scheel in Bonn. He did not fly back to East Berlin until the evening.

He was not ready to initial the agreement but merely issued the statement that in view of the pending vote of no-confidence in the Bundestag the government wanted to avoid the impression of doing all it could to accelerate the conclusion of the traffic agreement.

Neues Deutschland, the party newspaper, splashed the conclusion of the agreement on 27 April. The paper printed the statements made by Bahr and Kohl along with journalists' questions and their answers.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 April 1972)

■ THE LAW

New measures on arms run into opposition

DIE ZEIT

Waffen Franconia, the Würzburg armaments firms, offers its customers a wide range of good collectors' pieces and praises the eighteen-chamber Old Shatterhands as being in full working condition.

Collector Guns of Altenkirchen does not only deliver weapons to its customers' homes but also promises in return for a stamp-addressed envelope new tips on how to obtain a gun licence that will make the purchase legal.

The Frankfurt mail-order firm Neckermann recently issued its new special weapons catalogue. Five hundred thousand copies were printed.

Gustav Köpf of Leonberg supplies West German gun enthusiasts with weapons from all over the world. The Hebsacker Company from Baden-Württemberg advertised the old K 98 carbine as a really good offer in arms magazines.

Walter Sefke of Hamburg sells spare parts of the 08 and anybody can put them together into a lethal weapon. The Erma weapons firm advertises that its automatics shoot shapper shot for shot.

Bärbel Harlos, a rifle and pistol dealer from Schwäbisch Hall, recommends her potential customers to buy now while they can. Tomorrow could be too late.

This state of affairs where arms can be bought and sold without restriction will indeed soon be ended. The Bundestag Home Affairs Committee is currently dealing with a Bill that will subject the trading, purchase and use of lethal weapons to far stricter regulations than are now in force. Both the central government and the Federal states fear the wave of violence spreading across West Germany at present and want to stop people obtaining weapons.

The West German Arms Association estimates that there are some twenty million firearms in the Federal Republic. Two thirds of them are rifles while one third are revolvers and pistols.

Purchasing pistols and revolvers has always been subject to the possession of a permit. For rifles the customer need usually only prove that he is at least eighteen years old. Stating that you are over eighteen will not suffice in future.

The same regulations as apply to pistols should be extended to other fire-arms. When purchasing a weapon, civilians must show that they are in possession of a gun licence issued by the authorities.

Before issuing the permit, the authorities will demand to know the reason why the person wishes to purchase a gun, will make sure that he knows how to use one and make him attend an official proficiency examination.

Sportsmen, hunstmen and gun-collectors fear a tightening-up of regulations. But huntsmen and sportsmen agree that Bonn should make the purchase of rifles more difficult as they are being used more and more frequently in murders.

The Arms Association comments, "A large number of people would still be alive today if permits had also been necessary for the dangerous semi-automatic small-calibre rifles."

The rifles usually used in sports and hunting are not suited for criminal activities. Most of them have to be reloaded after every shot. "No crimes with sports weapons have been registered in the last twenty years," the Arms Association states.

The Federal states, who are particularly interested in seeing the new law on the statute book, find it hard to counter arguments of this type. Even the Federal Crime Bureau has not yet been able to supply statistics of sports and hunting rifles being misused more and more for criminal activities. The Wiesbaden-based Crime Bureau does not even have a register showing how many crimes are committed with a certain type of weapon.

The number of crimes in which weapons are assumed to have been used with some degree of probability has risen from the 1969 figure of 67,273 to 73,174 but the Federal Police in Bonn were unable to give more precise information about the use of weapons.

The Bundestag Home Affairs Committee is prepared to grant the quarter of a million or so huntsmen and the million sportsmen certain privileges if they wish to buy arms.

Little is to be feared from huntsmen anyway as the examination necessary for the hunting permit is sufficient to restrict the purchase of arms. The only issue in dispute is whether the hunting permit should be all that is needed to buy pistols too without any further restrictions.

West Germany's arms collectors – about forty thousand in all – have also protested against the law. The legislature knows that historical muzzle-loaders are not very suitable for bank robberies but replicas of old rifles or pistols on the other hand can be converted into lethel weapons without too much effort.

Members of the Home Affairs Committee may ask for gun-collectors to be exempt from the regulations calling for a licence if there is no ammunition available for the arms they plan to buy.

Apart from sportsmen, huntsmen and collectors, it is the gun manufacturers above all who fear the new law. The arms industry produced about one hundred million Marks worth of weapons of all types in 1970. If the regulations governing weapon purchase are tightened up as planned at present, the branch reckons that its turnover will drop forty to sixty per cent.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance is to act as spokesman of the arms industry in deliberations about the new law. An arms expert at the Ministry stated, "We would certainly not oppose the law if we were convinced that crimes of violence would drop as a result. But there is a big question mark here."

A ban would only encourage black-market arms dealings. The Ministry spokesman fears that the gangsters' supplies would then come from the underground, robbing the West German arms industry of trade.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 28 April 1972)

Fight against crime too im... to become a bone of contr...

NEWS

The subject of internal security would be wrongly interpreted if it were to be restricted merely to the methods used in the fight against crime and an analysis of crime statistics.

It is currently, if not always, an issue concerning the whole of domestic policy. Criminologists will demand that an effective fight against crime must be based on a greater understanding of trends and motives. These phenomena must also be seen against the background of the social condition.

Political obversers cannot fail to see the attempt to represent the rising crime figures as the result of certain political tendencies. But while criminologists aim to enlighten the public, people dealing with the subject of crime for political purposes cloud the issue and try to arouse emotion.

The response aroused when President Heinemann debunked the sacrosanct idea of the State and described it as a system required to avert chaos need only be remembered in this context.

His speeches on the hundreth anniversary of the proclamation of the German Empire and on the Martin Luther anniversary in Mainz were criticised in similar fashion by some journalists and politicians.

Though the attacks on the President were connected with the subject of the State, the government was criticised at the domestic level of causing a decline in the German State as well as the German Mark.

The first stage was reached when discussions began about an amendment to the custody laws in the spring of 1970 and the amnesty this involved.

Ostpolitik was not only labelled a sell-out, it was also claimed that it encouraged left-wing political extremism. Some critics accused the government of being blind to the violations of human rights on the part of the East bloc.

Ernst Benda, now head of the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, went so far last summer as to try and establish some sort of link between Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn's penal reforms and the rise in crime figures.

Pointing out the motives behind the debate cannot hide the fact that the number of crimes has increased, especially those involving property and narcotics. But too much attention has been paid too long to proposals that would make an effective contribution to the fight against crime.

This became partic... ...s are available in plans for tightening ...eed impervious custody and introduc... of sulphur or tody. Politicians were ... ...sh no longer cause of a curious comp... them wanted to be consi... who was soft on criminals. ... novel

A lot of the heat has ... ...d in disappeared from the discussion ... the laws of custody. The govern... recently announced a programme that is more likely to make an effective contribution to the fight against crime – the strengthening of the police force where both numbers and equipment are concerned and a speeding up of legal cases.

Extraordinarily harsh threats of punishment are of no use as a deterrent. What is needed is the likelihood that the law-breaker will be caught as quickly as possible and sentenced as speedily as the law allows.

The penal reform – as unpopular as it may be among the prejudiced public – is also a contribution to the fight against crime. Every successful case of rehabilitation causes a drop in the number of offenders who go back to their old ways.

Internal security is somewhat different to law and order. But it is not enough to attack the law-and-order hysteria and point out the party political motives behind it.

Expressions of scorn are of little use when dealing with such an emotional subject. Security is a real requirement and a legitimate one. When the need is not satisfied it expresses itself in other ways.

Ignoring this or treating it with a feeling of superiority will only allow emotions to run their course and be a source of danger to a constitutional State.

It remains to be seen whether the government's priority programme will lead to this subject being discussed more objectively. The debate on internal security held at Chancellor Brandt's home and also attended by Opposition leader Rainer Barzel gave no indication of this.

The all-pervading election campaign makes it hard for a politician to forgo vote-catching platitudes. Confusing crime and political extremism is indefensible from the criminological point of view and suggests party political overtones.

Both phenomena, as similar as they may be in their extremes, have different reasons and therefore demand different cures. Political extremism can only be suppressed by a credible parliamentary system that is capable of reform. Government and Opposition must cooperate to this end.

Robert Leicht

(Deutsche Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 April 1972)

Ministry acts to speed up criminal proceedings

Legal cases last too long, a fact that was one reason why the Minister of Justice decided to alter the relevant regulations. This resulted in the Bill for the first law reforming criminal procedure.

The second phase of political deliberations over the Bill began recently within the Cabinet. Justifying the reform, it was stated that the more quickly criminal procedure can be conducted and brought to a conclusion the more seriously the threat of punishment will be taken.

Statistics provide information about the state of affairs at the various types of court. Experts at the Ministry revealed that not all cases take too long. About 66 per cent of all cases that were the responsibility of one judge were concluded within three months. Even if the period of preliminary proceedings is taken into account the figure still stands at 46.5 per cent.

On the other hand 2.7 per cent of the cases coming up before a single judge last longer than a year. In percentage terms this is not a lot but it does amount to almost twelve thousand cases.

The situation is much less favourable where the more serious cases are concerned. These are the offences that are the responsibility of the assize and regional courts.

As many as 50.3 per cent of the cases at assize courts were over within six months of the start of proceedings but the figure for regional courts was only 36.4 per cent.

"The proportion of cases taking longer than a year rises to 20.4 per cent at assize courts and 31.6 per cent at regional courts," the report states. On top of this 10.3 per cent of the cases at regional courts took longer than two years.

The Ministry of Justice states that legal processes often lengthen trials to a considerable extent. As many as 36.5 per cent of the cases dealt with by an individual judge took longer than a year before the appeal had been heard. A total of 11.4 per cent pass the two-year mark. The comparable figures for assize courts are 50.3 and 17 per cent.

In justifying the Bill, it is stated that too much time elapses between preliminary proceedings and the actual prosecution and between the initial verdict and the point at which the appeal court receives the relevant documents.

In the appeal cases conducted before the provincial courts for example 91 per cent are over within three months of the files arriving from lower courts. But only fourteen per cent are concluded within three months of the disputed verdict.

Roderich Reifenrath

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 April 1972)



■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Bundesbank report reviews Mark's crisis year - 1971

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The great British politician and writer J.V. Morley said that major economic and social forces flood whole communities like high-water, while the people are only half aware of what has engulfed them.

This applies most accurately to the present situation. Money is flooding into this country, public expenditure is like spring tides, social welfare demands are being increased all the time, one round of wage increases follows hard on the heels of the previous one, there is a deluge of company mergers and all the time the water level of monetary depreciation is rising.

Politicians, trades unions and industrialists and who keep making higher demands without increasing their productivity are obviously not aware what dangerous illusions they are prey to and what a destructive force they wield.

To them one can only suggest the report of the Bundesbank for 1971 as recommended reading. It lists coolly and calmly all the many detrimental effects of unbridled national and international expansive trends.

The report is not pleasant reading. It is more like an elegy, and quite rightly so. For the Bundesbank reports that it could not carry out the most important duty ascribed to it by the laws of the land, namely to "protect the currency".

The Bundesbank has not given up in resignation, and right up to the most recent times it has made the maximum use of all the instruments available to it in the form of credit policies. But it has failed to restore stability because so many factors today affect the value of money which are beyond the control of the Bundesbank. Furthermore the bank is caught in a constant conflict of aims with regard to domestic and foreign economic demands.

From the point of view of international monetary relations in particular 1971 was the most nerve-racking year the Bundesbank has known. It began with a massive influx of hot money from abroad – amounting to nine thousand million Marks up to May alone. The bank of issue was powerless to do anything about this.

Then on 10 May the Mark was floated and the much demanded protection of the currency from outside influences was achieved. In addition the room for manoeuvre for credit policy measures which could slow down the depreciation in the value of money on the domestic front was increased. But even then the Bundesbank had to continue to operate with extreme caution.

Every time credit squeezes were applied at home this acted as a renewed incentive to foreign speculators to export their cash to Germany, putting further pressure on the dollar, which was tantamount to revaluing the Mark.

The trouble spread on 15 August when President Nixon removed the dollar from the gold standard and other countries replied by floating their currencies. This led to many of these currencies being revalued in practice. But they were not genuinely floated – they were manipulated so that in the end the rate of revaluation of the Mark was relatively higher.

Then came the meeting in Washington in December in which new exchange rates were fixed – the so-called realignment. Although the rate of revaluation of the Mark against the dollar, 13.58 per cent, was very high (particularly when compared with the two previous revaluations – 9.3 per cent in 1969, five per cent in 1961) hot money was soon flowing into the Federal Republic again.

The main reason for this was, as before, the falling rates of interest in the United States and on the Eurodollar Market. For this reason the Bundesbank cut this country's Bank Rate three times from six to three per cent, the last cut coming in February this year.

Nevertheless there was still a gap in interest rates between the USA and this country, since America had cut the "prime rate" in February for first-class borrowers to 4.5 per cent, the lowest it had been for twelve years.

Thus as a further measure to strengthen this country's defences against unwanted foreign money the Bundesbank introduced a compulsory cash deposit for West German companies raising loans abroad. Lately there has been a distinctly quieter atmosphere on the West German currency exchange market.

Nevertheless the developments of the past few months have shown that the Bundesbank walks a tightrope between taking precautions against foreign speculators' activities and the requirements of the home economy. Cheap ready cash from abroad makes it essential for them to reduce interest rates here at precisely the time when inflationary tendencies demand that they should do the exact opposite.

At least the Bundesbank is capable of doing something about imported inflation. When it comes to the other major source of monetary depreciation, namely the massive wage and salary increases at home they are powerless to act.

The report deals at great length with the argument heard so often that wages are in themselves a price and thus wage rises are not a cause but rather an effect of depreciation in the value of money brought on by excessive demand.

The Bundesbank offers proof that wage rises in the past couple of years were by no means determined by the rise in the cost of living, but rather that they themselves were one contributory factor towards rising prices.

One clear criterion for this is for example that last year there were considerable wage increases although the level of employment was noticeably down and the profit margin of companies dropped to its lowest level in the postwar period. Furthermore it is pointed out that last year, too, real wage bills per unit of productivity were up by nine per cent, a higher increase than in the other EEC countries and Great Britain. In the last quarter of 1971 average hourly pay in West German industry was up to sixty per cent of the American level, while in 1965 it had only been forty per cent.

One particularly important factor is that the effective earnings of civil servants last year were up by fifteen per cent following a rise of thirteen per cent in 1970. A 28 per cent increase in income in two years is a scandal from the point of view of the taxpayer, the economy, the guardians of the currency and the budget.

The civil service associations will as always claim that these figures are incorrect, but why should officials at the Bundesbank, themselves civil servants, spread lies?

At any rate it is largely due to these immensely increased wage expenses that the government, the Federal states, the local governments, the railways and the postal services are suffering deficits in 1972 that are twelve milliard Marks higher than last year and which have to be repaid by means of loans.

Needless to say these loans have at least a partially inflationary effect. Thus of all people it is the government that is counteracting the efforts of the Bundesbank to regain stability. The Bundesbank's policy is made even more difficult by the fact that finance houses, even in this period of credit squeeze are pursuing an expansive policy the like of which has scarcely if ever been seen before.

The Bundesbank and its supervisory committee must take steps to counteract this. From its observations the Bundesbank draws the conclusion that it must "take a more restrictive line towards the banks if results are to be similar to those achieved in the past". *Hans Roeper*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 April 1972)

Poullain stresses importance of stability

Ludwig Poullain's important voice has been heard many times in the past few weeks. The former president of the savings banks associations and acting chairman of the largest West German monetary institute, the Westdeutsche Landesbank-Girozentrale is most concerned about the stability of the Mark.

In Düsseldorf he has denied vehemently that he is about to resign. On the contrary. He has issued a warning and said that he will not tire of issuing warnings in the future. He is not in favour of dramatisation, but is quite prepared to look the facts in the face.

The most significant item of perception in his statement is his recognition that the factors that act towards preserving the stability of the currency can scarcely be controlled any more, and certainly not on a national basis and with free convertibility.

The detrimental influences from the point of view of foreign policy have, according to Poullain, become more significant rather than less. The monetary setup in the United States with its over-production of dollars is still having an effect on this country.

He said that narrowing the bandwidths as the first step towards a monetary union in the EEC would be inflationary at least until a communal economic and monetary policy had been agreed upon and put into practice.

It is not only influences from outside this country that are aggravating inflation. Excessive wage deals and government spending are just two domestic factors.

The only way to steady the rocking boat, according to Poullain, is to amend the powers of the Bundesbank and create a European bank of issue. If inflation persists, as Poullain thinks it will, this is something that can only be tolerated for a short while.

What, he asks, will happen if savers who provide the money that finances economic growth, stop taking their cash to the bank deposits?

It is first and foremost the politicians who must act to preserve the stability of the currency. This can only prove effective if there is international cooperation. And so it is time to make greater international efforts. For the immediate future stability should take precedence over economic growth. In the present circumstances it is not possible to have both. (Hamburger Abendblatt, 20 April 1972)

EEC makes Efta concessions

The EEC is prepared to make new concessions to the six Efta countries that are not joining the Common Market. The EEC Council of Ministers recently agreed in Luxembourg that the vestigial Efta countries should be given new offers for free-trade agreements.

Negotiations to date between the EEC Commission and Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Portugal and Iceland had reached deadlock because the Commission did not have sufficient room for manoeuvre at these talks.

The new concessions are concerned in the main with industrial products which the Community has demanded exemption from the general breakdown of customs barriers. These industrial duties (excluding paper) should be broken down according to the new EEC suggestion within eight years. During the first four years there would be a decrease of five per cent per annum and in the remaining four years twenty per cent p.a. (Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 April 1972)

EEC Ministers want Group of Ten extended to 20

The six members of the EEC and the four applicant countries are agreed that in future international monetary problems should be discussed within a larger group of twenty countries. Up to now the Group of Ten, the most powerful industrial countries in the West, have been responsible for discussing these matters.

The Finance Ministers of the Six and the Four reached this decision at the end of a two-day exchange of opinions in Rome. The extension of the Group of Ten will first and foremost be propagated by the USA and developing countries. The United States is hoping for support for its currency policies from the dollar-hungry developing nations. And understandably the Third World no longer wants to be banished to the sidelines whenever important monetary matters are discussed.

Unlike the USA, however, the European Finance Ministers do not feel that the Group of Twenty should also discuss world trade problems. State Secretary Johann Baptist Schöllhorn from the Economic Affairs and Finance Ministry, Bonn, said in Rome that Europeans were largely agreed that when discussions took place to try to solve monetary problems pure monetary matters should not be mixed willy-nilly with problems of trade.

The quarterly exchange of opinions among EEC Finance Ministers at which the Finance Ministers of Denmark, Great Britain, Norway and Eire took part for the first time on 24 April opened with a discussion of EEC domestic currency affairs.

The EEC new boys announced that they would abide by the EEC decisions on narrower currency exchange bandwidths. They would make efforts to ensure that their currencies only wavered by 2.25 per cent in exchange with EEC currencies while in exchange with the dollar or other overseas currencies fluctuations of 4.5 per cent would be permissible.

In connection with Unctad III at Santiago de Chile President Schweitzer of the International Monetary Fund, speaking on 27 April, stressed that future currency crises could only be avoided by means of a complete overhaul of the monetary system.

According to Schweitzer the reform should concentrate on a speedier alignment of exchange rates, wider bandwidths for exchange fluctuations and additional influence for special drawing rights. (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 April 1972)

■ HANOVER FAIR

Hanover fails as economic barometer

Hanover Fair, the biggest industries show in the Federal Republic, has always been considered the most reliable barometer of the economy. But from this year's Fair it has been extremely difficult to gauge a specific trend. The needle hovers anywhere between "set fair" and "stormy".

Salesmen of those branches that are in or close to direct contact with the consumer considered their position more or less satisfactory. But producers of raw materials and capital investment goods are considering the situation plainly and simply poor.

Even for optimists Hanover this year was not a Fair for limited hopes, nor, as one industrialist expressed it "a Fair for criticial caution".

Karl Schiller must also have sensed that the economy is not in a state to be plunged into euphoria with mere words. The ironic mutterings of the exhibitors that accompanied the particularly cautious passages of his opening address were unmistakable. Industry, and particularly those producers who rely greatly on exports can still feel the shock of the international currency crisis and the explosive rise in costs at home.

Despite many indications that the economy would pick up again and at a greater rate in the second half of this year all concerned are realistic enough to bear in mind that there might be further currency exchange dangers as well as a new deluge of price increases.

Although the latest collective bargaining in the chemicals industry in Hesse leading to a round of pay rises of 6.4 per cent showed a good deal of sense and practicality on both sides it does not take much imagination to foresee an economic improvement leading to further hefty increases in personnel costs. Presumably the unions can and will point to an increasing rate of growth in the cost of living to make their case seem more justified.

There is little hope of a return to relative price stability in the next few years. The labour market is still too strained for this despite the recession, and the room for manoeuvre for catching up with soaring prices by means of increased productivity is too restrcted.

It is a welcome sign that leading industrial and economic experts at the Fair said they would give greater priority to stability than to forced economic growth. They rejected all idea of economic boosters from the Bonn budget and all attempts to adjust to inflation rather than fighting it.

At the same time industry is faced with a dilemma as regards stabilisation policies. For many reasons industry is interested in attempts to keep prices stable. On the other hand falling profit margins can only be countered with price increases. There is no other way for many companies to boost their flagging yield.

For many exhibitors the super-show at Hanover itself has become an object of contention. In recent years the leading manufacturers of consumer goods have turned their back on the Fair, including the entire household goods and radio and television industries. They have moved to their own specialised fairs.

Even the ranks of the capital investment goods manufacturers were depleted at this year's Hanover Fair. This was most obvious in the hall devoted to the motor trade. Many exhibitors were hard put to find genuine novelties for the Fair and were reduced to displaying exhibits that boosted their image, or so they hoped.

There was every reason for the steel industry at the beginning of this year's Fair to repeat its old plan of exhibiting in Hanover every *other* year.

This year Hanover was hard pressed to keep alive its reputation as the platform for the economy and industry. The trend towards specialisation at trade fairs makes it all the more clear that the structure of the Hanover Fair is becoming less and less a true picture of the West German economy. *Hans Otto Eglau*

(Die Zeit, 28 April 1972)



Vladimir Novikov (centre), Soviet Vice-President, being shown round the Hanover Fair by Finance and Economics Affairs Minister Karl Schiller (right) and the Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, Alfred Kubel (Photo: dpa)

Italian-made heavy machinery in the Hanover Fair (Photos: Marianne van der Lancken)

Olympics computer shown at Hanover

It almost seemed as if "Golym" was able to give details of athletes' shoe sizes and other intimate facts from the life of sportsmen. As an entirely unsporting Hanover journalist I asked the computer the last time tug-of-war had been an Olympic discipline.

Golym, a computer built by Siemens and installed in Munich, did not suffer an electronic brainstorm and had its answer ready in a fraction of a second to the astonishment of all concerned at the special Olympic exhibition in Hanover, part of the Hanover Fair 1972.

A: "Olympic Games – Venue: Paris – Anno 1900 – Event: Tug-of-war – Team: (the computer than spewed out six Danish and Swedish names which I shall not quote for the sake of the typesetters!) – Nation: SUE + DEN. This mixed team won the gold medal.

Who or what is "Golym"? He or it was developed from the electronic information system Golem, which has been in existence for about three years. (What Golem stands for would also give the typesetters a headache!)

It was easy to rename the piece of equipment to fit its role in Munich, however. The manufacturers say quite simply amid their pride that it is the greatest sporting "memory-man" in the world. They are probably not exaggerating, for from the beginning of August this year this data bank will be operating via 72 data observation stations in Munich, Kiel and Augsburg, disseminating information on the 15,000 or so sportsmen, officials, chaperons, trainers, managers and guests of honour, not to mention the

Continued on page 8

FAIR NEWS

Rustproof car exhausts are available in a special alloy guaranteed impervious to the corrosive influence of sulphur or acid compounds. Salt and slush no longer present problems.

*

Ballpoint pens are on show in a novel version with a notebook attached in the body of the pen. The eighty-centimetre roll of paper can be easily removed once used up and a fresh refill inserted.

*

An electronic guide-dog is the nickname given to a radar device that gives advance warning of approaching objects either on an optical scale or by means of an acoustic signal. It can be used as an echo sounding unit in, say, small water craft.

*

Miniature slide rules are on the market to enable motorists to check at a glance whether they are in a fit state to drive. Instructions for use and the alcoholic value of various drinks are printed on the reverse of the rule.

*

A short-wave radio set no larger than a pocket book is used in combination with a microphone disguised as a fountain pen and an ear-plug receiver. The device transmits and receives on the two- or four-metre wavelengths and is powered by eight rechargeable nickel cadmium batteries.

*

Sheet steel for the motor industry is available with an even surface coating of synthetic material. The steel is highly corrosion-resistant, easily pressed and parts can be welded. The body unit is thus rustproofed before receiving its first coat of paint.

*

Tin cans in a newly-developed alloy are half the weight of conventional cans and can be reduced by hydraulic presses to a third of their original volume after use.

*

Wireless guitars are now available for pop groups. A microport transmitter takes over the function of the electric lead. Conventional guitars can be converted to the new system.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 27 April 1972)



New apparatus to aid repairmen working on telephone poles



■ AIR SHOW

Short-take-off planes cause stir at Hanover

Münchner Merkur

Aero manufacturers from all over the world exhibited their latest hardware at the 1972 Hanover air show. The hundred-odd aircraft on show were as different as chalk from cheese, including even an amphibious version of the Hercules transport plane.

The real sensation occurred two days before the show opened. A little after noon on 19 April a Soviet TU 144 landed at Langenhagen airport.

It was just as American and Western European buyers had feared and the Russians had intended. With the arrival of the Soviet SST American manufacturers were hopelessly outclassed at Hanover as regards major aircraft.

Russia had stolen the show and even Europe's supersonic specialists cut a poor figure. The Anglo-French Concorde, to look at virtually the TU 144's identical twin, did not arrive at Hanover until 22 April.

On the opening day of this country's window on the aero world the battle for prestige assumed well-nigh grotesque proportions. The Bonn Ministry of Transport refused the Tupolev exhibitors permission to put the TU 144 through its paces on the grounds that it had yet to pass flight tests.

Behind the scenes it was hinted that the Foreign Office, which holds the brief for politics and East-West detente, had in vain urged the Ministry of Transport to waive its regulations and allow Aeroflot to fly the TU 144 around the exhibition grounds.

For the time being, hiwever, theTU 144 will stay grounded and only the Concorde will be able to demonstrate its prowess in the air.



Dornier's Alpha jet at the Hanover airshow (Photo: dpa)

This year's Hanover air show, the ninth since 1958, is certainly a stamping-ground of the big boys. In the course of the show the Concorde and the TU 144 were joined by the Galaxy C 5 A and the Boeing 747 F, the world's largest military and civilian transport and freighter planes respectively. The Americans were thus well on the way to regaining their stolen thunder.

The first operational 747 F, by the way, is Lufthansa's Cargonaut jumbo, which plies between Frankfurt and New York twice a week.

If only because there were so many of them the small fry were not to be outdone by these stars of the show. In all more than 150 aircraft of all shapes and sizes will have been on exhibit by the time the show comes to a close.

Some twenty of them are full-size aircraft, a further fifty single-engined sports and touring aircraft and trainers. There are 25 twin-engined executive aircraft, 33 helicopters and eight gliders.

Current models are not necessarily the centre of attraction, though. The air show paves the way for a number of interesting future prospects.

Nearly all manufacturers are setting great store by short take-off and landing and quiet and smooth-running engines. A further-reaching development on show, though, is an amphibious version of the American Hercules transport plane seating 78. The idea is that at some stage aircraft will have to land not only at airports but also on lakes and rivers – not for reasons of mobility but because cities and urban airports will simply be too congested.

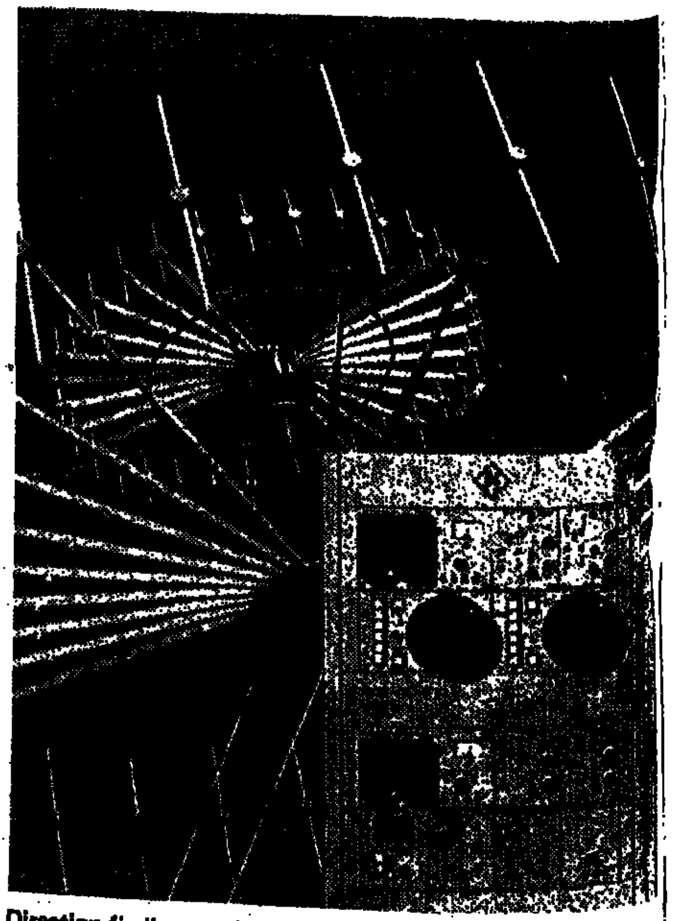
Projects scheduled for the more immediate future include the European airbus, the VFW 614 short-haul jet and the multi-role combat aircraft – also a joint project sponsored by several European countries – that will one day replace the Lockheed Starfighter.

Domestic firms involved in these projects attach special importance to them, partly because the government's aviation policy is never an entirely calculable factor.

For the next decade executive jets purchased by or for individual captains of industry are, however, possibly a less interesting proposition than aircraft shared by a number of firms.

Executive jets seating up to ten passengers are available at prices of anything up to three million Marks depending on the specifications of the model. Domestic manufacturers of gliders and sports aircraft also hope to stage a comeback this year. One of the most interesting newcomers in this sector is a glider that is almost a jet. In mid-fuselage it boasts a turbojet that powers the craft both during take-off and for booster purposes. Military aircraft are also of interest to visitors – and not only because they make a tremendous noise at times. The Luftwaffe naturally has an F 4 Phantom jet on show, though a sign proclaims that a closer look at the aircraft is prohibited, and the RAF are displaying a Harrier. The Harrier, a vertical take-off fighter, is the only military aircraft of its kind that is already in operational use.

Josef Abaffy
(Münchner Merkur, 22 April 1972)



Direction-finding equipment developed by Rhode & Schwarz, Munich (Photo: Rhode&Schwarz)

FAIR NEWS

This country now boasts its first manufacturer of quartz wristwatches. The batteries last more than a year and the watches gain or lose a maximum of a second or two a week.

*

Do-it-yourself enthusiasts will welcome a shockproof spirit level weighing a mere 300 grammes. The level is fluorescent and can be accurately used in the dark.

*

Compactor is the name given to a fourfold hydraulic press weighing 22.5 tons that shreds old cars and garbage in a matter of seconds.

*

A compact, space-saving mobile brake inspection unit for garages is operated by remote control. It is a far more accurate method of checking brakes simply and economically than measuring tyre tracks on a road surface.

*

Mobile environmental protection vehicles bristling with equipment can be used as travelling laboratories for spot checks to pinpoint offenders. Measurements and readings are printed out on the spot to determine offences against pollution and noise regulations.

*

The Munich Olympics will be served by a specially programmed electronic brain crammed with 250,000 items of information about 15,000 athletes, officials, aides and guests of honour. It also has details of past performances in the disciplines at the ready.

*

A precision chronometer for motorists, technicians, athletes and pilots carries out complicated calculations at depths of up to 100 metres (328 feet) below sea-level. It has a fluorescent face, a centre-mounted second hand and separate movements for seconds and minutes.

*

The latest in TV tubes is almost flat. A thin layer of liquid crystals sandwiched between two sheets of glass turns the screen either black and white or colour when the current is switched on.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 27 April 1972)



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rules of fair play in the 196 Olympic disciplines.

It knows all about the existing records and victories, the up-to-date world seedings and even the details of the cultural events that will be available at the 1972 Olympics.

The special Olympic exhibition at Hanover enjoyed a large audience. They discovered that Golym will answer even the most unusual questions about the Olympics. Computer specialists might like to know that the machinery involves three central units (4004/45) with four magnetic drums as a fast intermediate store in addition to six double magnetic drums and fifteen disc stores. Between the central units the communications are via three switches to the data exchange. This clever equipment is completed by three fast printers and punchcard insertion machines, six data communications controls with 24 times 8 connection switches to the feeder unit for data transmission.

At the scenes of Olympic events strewn all over the Federal Republic there will be in all about 300 teleprinters of which 48 will act as so-called dialogue apparatuses equipped with built-in long-distance data switching devices. These dialogue teleprinters make it possible to send data to the Munich research centre directly the results are issued by the referees.

The final data apparatuses are connected with the research centre via a network of teleprinter-reading connections, together with connections that end up at a so-called shunting distributor at the Munich Olympic Stadium. The total length of these connections is 9,000 kilometres.

Electronics make it possible to have on hand results of all events at the entire 31 arenas simultaneously. These will appear on television screens. Running results will be passed on immediately to press agencies. Press computers will be in operation that not only spew out events and results but actually edit them! Sports editors had better watch out for redundancy notices!

And a few mentions of the latest television surprises from Munich will show in their way how this year's Olympics will not just be an example of great sporting skills but will also highlight the latest brainwaves from the technological wizards.

From Munich thirteen different television programmes can be beamed at the same time as well as sixty different commentaries in up to 45 different languages. The material for these programmes comes from more than one hundred electronic cameras, 85 videotape recorders, twelve so-called slow motion machines, fourteen telecine film scanners, and all this must be compressed into thirteen picture and sixty sound channels.

In the TV headquarters there is a wall filled with 48 monitor screens. And for the first time every single Olympic event will be filmed, recorded and stored. All in all the television coverage of the 1972 Olympics will be more comprehensive than the coverage of the American moon landings was or even needed to be.

Manfred Schmidt
(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 April 1972)

■ THE ARTS

Computers set to work on Heine's writings

KielerNachrichten

Heinrich Heine is to be given the same treatment as poets Hölderlin, Kleist, Novalis and Grabbe in December, *the 175th anniversary of his birth.*

December is the latest date of publication for the first of sixteen planned volumes covering his complete works including historical and critical notes. Professor Manfred Windfuhr of Düsseldorf, the editor of the volumes, states that they are meant to rehabilitate the long-defamed poet.

Ventures of this kind have been begun on a number of occasions in the past. Just before the hundredth anniversary of Heine's death in 1955, his old publishers, Hoffmann and Campe, wanted to produce at long last the authorised edition of his complete works that the poet himself had pressed for in vain for twenty years.

The National Research and Memorial Centres of Classical Literature in Weimar, East Germany, also jumped on the bandwaggon. But whereas the East Germans acted quickly and set up a committee there was no one in the Federal Republic to support the venture. Attempts to issue a joint East-West edition also failed.

One of the main difficulties facing the compilation of the critical edition is Heine's method of approaching the finished form of his work by stages. There remains the question of whether all or only selected versions of a text should be included.

A large proportion of Heine's poems and narratives appeared in newspapers and periodicals before their official publication. Heine described the 1843 periodical version of *Atta Troll* as imperfect and revised it for publication in book form.

The contemporary references, that led Heine to change the original, their interpretation and commentaries on them are reason enough why Weimar and Düsseldorf have gone different ways.

The Heine Archives in Düsseldorf managed to obtain the Strauss Collection – Heine's estate – in 1956. Later efforts also proved successful at the beginning of the sixties. Düsseldorf city council decided to support the project in 1962 and a year later the West German Research Association stated that it was prepared to meet the costs for editing the manuscripts and setting up a research centre in Paris.

Today the Düsseldorf centre maintains close contact with both Weimar and Paris, the site of the second largest collection of Heine manuscripts, the Schocken Collection.

German scholars in France have agreed to edit three volumes and are also responsible for the French texts. Heine is one of those few cases where an author publishes his work in two languages.

Düsseldorf has set itself the aim of publishing Heine's complete works together with all preliminary stages, variations and translations and of providing an exhaustive commentary of all allusions to scarcely understandable quotes and obscure historical details.

Unconventional methods were adopted to track down manuscripts which were previously unknown. People in possession of Heine autographs were approached and advertisements calling for further material inserted in newspapers and periodicals.

Of the secondary material – judgments and statements about Heine and his work or contemporary comments – there must be over 260 manuscripts concerning his poems and 320 concerning letters that are still owned by unknown collectors. Professor Windfuhr hopes that the campaign being conducted by the Düsseldorf centre will be of help here.

Collection and research work in the past years have now revealed a wealth of new information. No new texts were found but about three thousand works concerning Heine have come to the surface, including 65 reviews of Heine's texts, 160 articles about Heine and over two thousand notes to his work. A variety of new interpretations and unknown fragments of Heine texts have also been discovered.

Researchers at the Düsseldorf centre have a computer at their disposal for questions involving texts, dating, commentary and other editorial questions. An index for each work is also being compiled with its help. Professor Windfuhr stated that it was only now that the neuralgic point had been reached.

Without a computer it would be almost impossible to clear up questions as to what orthography is typically Heine, to test sentence structure and style and to gain an accurate record of punctuation.

A single Heine text – such as *Romantische Schule* – contains over ten thousand individual items, forty per cent of them punctuation marks. Heine's punctuation habits can also be analysed by a special context register.

It has now been found that Heine's punctuation and orthography changed during the passage of time though this is not due only to his growing old. Researchers hope that the computer will give them information about other possible factors. The use of modern techniques also enables the researchers to distinguish between genuine and false Heine texts.

The first volume of the collected works to appear will be the sixth which will contain *Letters from Berlin, On Poland* and *Travel Scenes I and II.* The fifteen-volume series should be ready by 1980. Volume sixteen will be an index.

Renate I. Mreschar
(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 April 1972)

Plans for Documenta 5 announced

"The original concept of Documenta 5 remains as regards quality, but it is in the quantity of the type of exhibits that reductions have had to be made because of a shortage of money," said Secretary-General Harald Szeemann, speaking of the preparations for the exhibition to be held in Kassel between 30 June and 8 October, an exhibition that Szeemann called "the most comprehensive critical demonstration of contemporary art in the Western world".

The general rubric will be "Questioning reality" and the six sets of subjects as originally planned will remain unchanged, namely "parallel pictorial worlds", "realism", "individual mythologies", "information", "self-portrait" and "process and concept art".

Parallel pictorial worlds means the differing forms of portraying everyday events, stamps, notes or flags, as opposed to creative works.

An example of the "individual mythologies" would be the fat and felt works of Joseph Beuys. Apart from the works of contemporary Western Realism works of "Socialist realism" from the Soviet Union are supposed to be shown, but this is by no means certain.

In the self-portrait section there will be the works of the "Body Worker" group, who use their own bodies as an instrument of creation. Process and concept art plans to show activity with its constant changes, analyses it and gives an incentive towards reflection.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 21 April 1972)

Henze's *Medusa's Raft* given at Nuremberg

The scandal preventing the orig- concert premiere in Hamburg in 19 was not repeated at the stage premiere the work in Nuremberg Opera House. *Floss der Medusa* (Medusa's raft) by H Werner Henze and Ernst Schnabel did sink under the weight of political op- sition.

Transferring the work on stage di- change this oratorio into an opera ever. *Medusa's Raft* was originally wr for the radio and not for the theatre.

Henze himself admitted between dress rehearsal and the premiere that operas would be completely different future. He has already indicated the he is to take with *Natascha Ungeke* recently premiered in Berlin. But dramatic effect of *Das Floss der Med* is impressive.

The historical material is politic explosive. When the *Medusa* sank in 18 the officers took to the boats and w saved. The crew was left in the lurch.

Only thirteen of those left strand were eventually rescued. They return to the world taught a lesson by real and eager to overthrow it as Schnabel libretto puts it. Schnabel was inspired Géricault's famous painting.

Das Floss der Medusa is dedicated Che Guevara. But Henze is not me staging agit-prop theatre. His political aesthetic commitment are as evenly lanced as his Socialist and Cap interests.

Even when Henze depicts brutality does not forgo a hint of enchantme Unlike the experimental avant-garde

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

the aesthetic revolutionary of the Germ musical scene, tries purposefully achieve artistic abstraction subtly co bined with drama.

Ernst Schnabel's poetry which oc sionally assumes the proportions of aggression of a lord of the manor fi closely with Henze's musical langu music that is orientated lyrically to word.

Henze writes music that can be sung. prefers deep wind instruments, makes of the whole orchestra only at dramatic ly important points and tranposes mus ally the symbolism of two worlds – th strings speak an almost classical langu for the dead while the wind instrume represent the living.

The 75-minute non-stop performance in Nuremberg is based on a logical conception that is balanced between stage and orchestra. The Philharmonic Orchestra under Hans Gierster avoids playing the music as a symphony and pu across its splendour and passion.

Wolfgang Weber's production also portrays the emotionally moving though superficially static plot as a cross between opera and oratorium. Memories of the *Flying Dutchman* and the *St Matth Passion* are roused but, apart from number of discrepancies, the productio is impressive.

Peter Heyduck's stage design pshes the allegory further. The survivors form giant human knot as they cling to the raf while a gaping tunnel sucks the dead into the realms of Madame La Mort.

The enthusiastic applause confirmed the work's stage success. Perhaps that will mean better chances for the *Floss der Medusa* in future. So far it had only been heard in a Vienna concert hall. A further concert performance is planned in London.

Fritz Schleicher
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 April 1972)

Contemporary Shakespeare stage production discussed at Bochum

This year's Shakespeare Congress in Bochum was sloganed "Better than Shakespeare?" The question referred to the large number of Shakespeare adaptations to have been staged in Germany in recent years as well as changes in translation and dramatic tradition. Palitzsch's productions of the historical plays in Stuttgart some years ago need only be remembered.

The West German Shakespeare Society's intention of subjecting today's productions to thorough analysis was therefore only sensible and praiseworthy.

But what this association of theatre people, English scholars and Shakespeare fans churned out to those of its 1,518 members present in Bochum during the two-day congress can only be described as extremely scant.

It was wrong from the very outset to engage an amateur company to act the scenes that were meant as a basis for discussion.

In order to present various divergences from the norm, the "gay Beggars", a drama group from the English department of Basle University, acted a scene from *Troilus and Cressida*, showing the varying interpretations that were possible.

Performing scenes one after another like this introduced a competitive element, however concealed this may have been, that manifested itself in the search for originality to be found among the competing groups, as if the spectators had gathered to find out who was giving the best performance of Shakespeare.

Unfortunately later discussions – headed by Rudolf Stamm of Basle, the Society president – were restricted to the two scenes that had been performed.

This was all the more regrettable as Hans Schalla's production of *Henry V* that was performed within the general framework of the Shakespeare Congress would have provided just the right subject matter for a debate.

Hans Rothe, the translator responsible for this latest version, reintroduced Falstaff into the play – he does not appear in the original – and made him a central character alongside Henry.

A debate on the merits and demerits of such "interference" and other alterations undertaken by Rothe would doubtlessly have been more profitable and of greater service to the whole congress.

Delegates would then have had to deal with current theatre practice and the many problems it poses as far as alterations are concerned instead of with amateur dramatic groups whose art is necessarily inadequate and whose performances allow no firm conclusions about whether Shakespeare or modern-day versions of Shakespeare are better.

Klaus Morgenstern
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 April 1972)

■ THINGS SEEN

Max Ernst drawings at Hanover museum

Nordwest Zeitung

If any artist is a focus of attention today it is Max Ernst. The number of exhibitions in his honour is growing all the time. Whenever Surrealistic art and drawing of the twentieth century is shown an important place in reserved for Max Ernst, who was in complete command of the twin possibilities of the fantastic and imaginary and absurd reality.

Ernst's eightieth birthday last year was a most welcome opportunity for all and sundry to attempt to give a comprehensive look back at his work and it is hard to realise that he was ever misunderstood, that the first glance back over his work at his place of birth, Brühl, near Cologne, in 1950 was a complete failure. Max Ernst has become an institution in modern art. He is a Classic and not just because of the general recognition that comes from the influence of the time.

One of the most important collections of his works so far is the exhibition of graphic works at the Kestner Museum in Hanover (16 April to 15 July 1972). The two rooms contain 181 items with *well* over 400 drawings, covering his techniques over a span of 55 years.

Apart from a few loaned works they are from the Brusberg Collection. They form such a whole that one can only hope they will be kept together in this form.

The development of the artist, and what would seem to be more important, the maintenance and development of the forms he discovered, can be followed by studying this overall picture of a particularly varied and confusing complete work.

We can see his adherence to Dada and pittura metafisica from 1919, to collage from 1920, to frottage and the manipulation of structures taken from Nature from 1925, returning to the collage novel from 1929. All stimuli from outside seem to be something personal and prepared, and nothing that is processed is ever given up again. With assurance every form that is achieved is taken up again and pursued.

The collages and collage novels are fascinating in the questions they throw up. They create tensions that lead from seeing to reading and then force their way back again from title and text to picture finding expression in an alternating contrast.

The small size of the works and their denseness which this heightens suggest to the more vivid imagination the reality of a scientific illustration. Max Ernst's pictorial ideas crave to be read as if they were texts. They open up evil worlds of nonsense behind irritating symbols which are now a formal treasure of the surrealistic composed of prefabricated picture elements, now to be appreciated for their graphic powers.

When Max Ernst's characteristic frottage techniques are in evidence the objects begin to speak for themselves and are freed from the enslavement of superficial being-seen. From the distinctive micro and macro-forms there grows a wilful characteristic "Histoire naturelle" (1926).

It is not easy in the case of Max Ernst to draw the lines between the techniques and styles, and least of all in the case of his illustrations. They take it upon themselves to try to embody literary expressions off their own bat and to gain mastery over them by means of application of all the working techniques and pictorial elements made available.

In the *Maximiliana*, produced in 1964, which build a temple as a memorial to astronomers and artists who were despised in their lifetime, we have a glimpse of cosmic forms of the text as graphic material handled from a compositional point of view.

Of course the exhibition does greatest justice to the works of the past twenty years. In these the characterisation of figures reaches an unusually highdegree of perfection. But leaving out non-essential details of bodily appearance a whole figure becomes a cipher and is developed into a hieroglyph. With a few lines and formal quotations character styles are brought into evidence, living beings become signals. Beside the collages it is possible to see how the embodiment of figures becomes ciphers in the whole work.

The possibilities for comparative studies at the exhibition make comprehensible the special characteristics of the artist in his graphic work. Above all there are the many aspects of completeness of his deeply-rooted durability and his contrariness.

His world of depiction harks back to experiences that spring from childhood. The crossing of cultural movements which make his home-town of Cologne as his spiritual inspiration plain to see have created an awareness and readiness for conflict and distancing.

His paradoxical denial coupled with creative sensibilities of artistic creation can be identified with the will for rational and controlling penetration of the visible, with the preparedness to confuse in order to clarify, with the procedure of bringing together things that are alienated in their being in order to give liberating directions.

The most important impression that remains is that of a richness of form that is unbroken and not weakened even in old age without any playful gesticulations.

An important contribution to the insight that the exhibition gives in this direction is the excellent catalogue that is part of the Brusberg documents.

Karl Veit Riedel
(Nordwest Zeitung, 20 April 1972)



A Max Ernst drawing done in 1935 (Photo: Katalog)

Fourth art and antiques fair at Hanover

A grand reception opened the fourth Hanover Arts and Antiques Fair on 21 April. The Fair, which closed on 1 May was once again held in the Gallery and Orangerie of Herrenhausen Château, which, apart from these two buildings, was totally destroyed in World War II.

The pieces on exhibition gave once again a good idea of the manifold achievements of West Germany's art and antiques trade. But it obviously could not have been the intention to give equal coverage to all aspects of the works on show. Indeed some aspects on the periphery of art, such as jewellery were only given a limited showing.

Another limiting factor in Hanover was that the organisers were far more rigid in their controls of what was considered worthy of exhibition than is the case at the corresponding Munich, Cologne and Düsseldorf Fairs. Despite the fact that extra space has been created by building a substitute Orangerie there is still insufficient room available, which means that no more than ninety exhibitors had works on show. But these limitations had the virtue exhibitors has been declining for this reason.

This corresponds to the trend in this country towards quality rather than quantity and attracts the kind of custom that is really appreciated. When choosing the items to be exhibited the criterion was as ever the demarcation into so-called collectors pieces. Thus the items put on show were those that "are suitable for acceptance into a public collection based on scientific principles".

This does not mean, however, that only collectors whose wallets are well lined stand any chance of purchasing items on show in Hanover. This must be stressed since one of the main purposes of the Fair is to increase the interest of young people in antiques.

They were lured this year by a presentation of modern artistic expression as well as tried-and-tested pictorial art.

A jury was on hand to supervise quality, the descriptions and the genuineness of the pieces put on exhibition including experts from the world of art and antiques who were advised in their turn by a g roup of northern German museum directors. These security measures are vital for potential purchasers in view of the staggering rise in prices for works of high quality.

Jury member Dr Hans-Jürgen Heuser from Hamburg pointed to the rise in value of outstanding *Jugendstil* glassware as an example. He said: "A hand-made glass by Emile Gallé from Nancy could still be acquired for a few hundred Marks just ten years ago. Today, depending on size, colour and motifs it would set the collector back between 3,000 and 10,000 Marks. For some more specialised pieces, a vessel in marquetry, that is to say inlaid glass in glass, for instance, the price can be even higher."

The Hanover fair is designed as a market but also has a purely didactic function. Accordingly it was complemented this year by an exhibition of faïence prepared by the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

Herbert H. Wagner
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 22 April 1972)

Samples of the arms and armoury displayed at Herrenhausen, Hanover. Exhibits included pistols from the eighteenth century and a Persian helmut from the same period. (Photo: dpa)

Without a song

There are enough actors, but theatres and opera houses in this country are crying out for qualified singers, according to the Frankfurt Office for Labour Exchanges. The following are at a premium: lyric tenors, lyric baritones, Italian baritones, character-part baritones and Wagnerian baritones, serious bass singers, coloratura sopranos and dramatic contraltos.

(Handelsblatt, 14 April 1972)

■ EDUCATION

German studies face a crisis of identity

The time when German studies was a sort of national linguistic religion is gone for ever as German teaching at universities is gradually brought more closely into context with foreign languages. The three hundred or so German scholars agreed on this point at a meeting held in Stuttgart recently under the title "The Historical Factor of Linguistic and Literary Science".

They also agreed that linguistics – despite its almost incomprehensible terminology – was not the play-ball of a few eccentrics but a subject that must be integrated in German studies as a whole.

On the other hand, critics of the "historical factor" had to admit that the historical dimension, that of the "special



case", could not be completely eliminated if the structure of the language were not to become empty and incomprehensible.

The historical factor seems to be threatened in its capacity as a dimension of literary science from a number of sides. Pure linguists doubt the benefit of the study of literary history.

They believe that practising the general social communication processes of language – which is not only written German but also colloquial speech, dialect and jargon – is more important than passing on dead knowledge of past literary epochs.

The German scholars criticised the planned reform of the high school sixth form as suggested by the Standing Conference of the Federal States' Education Ministers.

But this reform seems to take into account the criticisms of the linguists. The German syllabus would be divided into two and this would lead in practice to the dissolution of the subject as a whole.

Teaching to speak and communicate in the mother tongue would be transferred to the arts, though without the systematics of literary history. The purely historical aspect of German studies would be subordinated to general sociology as a specific case of historical development.

The reformers are pursuing a definite aim with their plans. Other critics, such as the younger Marxist German scholars, go a step further. They doubt the ideal of "communication" as represented by linguists as a means of harmonisation and coordination.

They demand that literary history should teach a person to analyse critically social conditions which are typified not by harmony but by the alternation of power. Literature does not enjoy aesthetic autonomy.

Faced by such violent criticism, the German scholars at the congress did not have an easy time of things. The grand old men of literary history – Wilhelm Emrich, Emil Staiger, Benno von Wiese, Erich Trunz and Hermann Kunisch stayed away from the congress (perhaps out of resignation). Their arguments would not have convinced the extreme critics, most of whom belong to the younger generation.

For better or worse, all delegates at the congress had to face the issues posed by the contemporary era. The main arena for this was in the ten different sections that indulged in intensive discussions for two days and dealt with a number of individual topics, nearly all of them controversial.

No end result in the form of binding theories came to light however. This could not be expected in view of the complex nature of the subject and the almost Babylonian differentiation in terminology used.

A resolution issued by the meeting of members of the University German Scholars Association held during the congress to discuss the reform plans was restricted to statements of a general nature.

Dr Friedrich Welgang

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 April 1972)

Students Union probes students' social conditions

Münster University Students Union plans a broadly-based questionnaire scheme to examine the social position of students, the first campaign of this type in the Federal Republic.

The twenty thousand or so students at the university will have to fill in questionnaires at the beginning of the summer term in which they will give details of their living conditions, stating whether they are single or married.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 April 1972)

Statistics bureau claims married students take longer to graduate

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By the time students graduate and enter professional life they are usually at least 28 years old, according to a survey by the Bavarian Statistics Bureau. The average age of people taking their final examinations at Bavarian universities was 27.

Female students tend to graduate younger as they normally take shorter courses.

About seventeen per cent of people taking their final examinations in West Germany are married and about half the married students had children. While single students needed an average of ... years before passing their finals, married students without children needed ... years and married students with children 5.7 years.

(Handelsblatt, 20 April 1972)

■ MEDICINE

Suicide prevention association established in Munich

A German Association for Suicide Prevention held its constitutive meeting in Munich recently, electing Erlangen neurologist Felix Böcker chairman. The association consists of scientists, social workers and representatives of both religious denominations and according to its statutes aims at preventing suicide through practical and scientific aid. A debate on how suicide could be prevented in practice preceded the decision to set up the association.

Münchner Merkur

About thirteen thousand people commit suicide in West Germany every year. At the beginning of the debate Dr Felix Böcker of Erlangen University Neurological Hospital stated that they are as little an automatic feature of modern-day life as are road casualties.

While public feeling for the mentally sick was gradually improving, it was easy to gain the impression that modern psychiatry was tending to suppress questions of suicide prevention, Dr Böcker claimed.

The suicide rate in the Federal Republic – thirteen thousand a year and some eighty to ninety thousand attempted suicides – is one of the highest in the world equalling the figure for road accidents.

Dr Böcker claimed that the main causes of suicide were personal difficulties as well as genuine mental complaints. Social and financial reasons were receding more and more into the background.

The groups most in danger are the young and the very old as well as people who have lost a husband or wife through death or divorce. At least half the suicide cases had been receiving medical treatment in the weeks before.

Many of the doctors knew of their patients' suicide plans if only in the form of hints but because of the lack of opportunities in which they can help they were unable to prevent the act.

Delegates at the congress complained that a person who had attempted suicide and survived received the necessary physical treatment but only in the rarest of cases would he be given psychiatric advice.

Friendly suggestions to visit a psychiatrist after being discharged are not always enough. Fifty per cent of all suicide cases had attempted to kill themselves at least once before.

The demand was therefore made that a neuropsychiatric ward should be attached to all large hospitals so that people who had attempted suicide could be given expert psychiatric advice without being moved from the spot.

Help could also be provided by setting up emergency rescue stations at neuropsychiatric hospitals – most suicide attempts in West Germany are made with tablets.

But Dr Böcker does not believe that a special institution is needed only for people who have attempted suicide. Doctors also need a centre to which they can refer potential suicide cases.

The discussion group agreed that one of its aims should be to find out the causes for the disproportionate relationship between opportunities already existing and successes actually achieved.

A statistical survey has shown that three quarters of the West German population know about the Good Samaritans-style telephone service but only one of the 180 patients at a Cologne neurological hospital had turned to this source for help before attempting suicide.

Potentially greater success is expected from an experiment currently being conducted in London. Every person thought likely to commit suicide is provided with a friend and helper. The suicide rate in London has thus been reduced by 35 per cent. This scheme has also met with success in Berlin. *Frauke Haensel*

(Münchner Merkur, 24 April 1972)

Poll shows West Germans fear cancer most of all

Cancer is the most-feared disease in West Germany, according to a survey conducted by the Tübingen-based Wickert Institute. Thirty-six per cent of the interviewed males and 58 per cent of the women stated they feared cancer more than any other complaint.

Twenty per cent of the males and twelve per cent of the females stated they were most afraid of heart disease. The survey of 2,067 persons showed that less fear was attached to tuberculosis, children's diseases and stomach and intestinal complaints.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 April 1972)

Doctors call for increased medical facilities on planes

The world's best medical chest on board a plane will be no more than a decoration if an air passenger collapses or complains of respiratory difficulties and none of the stewards can diagnose whether the case is serious or not.

"Air hostesses' charm is no substitute for training in emergency medical treatment," the West German Doctors Association stated in its *European Medical Information Service*.

"It is becoming increasingly common for five hundred or more passengers to be on board," the publication states. "It is a luxury to have a dozen or more hostesses but no doctor."

The Doctors Association demands that a doctor must be on board in the interest of the safety of both passengers and crew.

Four to six per cent of all air passengers are under constant medical treatment. But even patients who have only just been discharged from hospital will book a flight without consulting a doctor.

Pregnant women, regardless of what month they are in, should obtain medical advice before flying, the association states.

Unfortunately, many people look on air travel as no more than a short tram ride and do not realise the health risks involved in the enormous changes in air pressure during take-off, landing, bad weather and turbulence when the human organism is under great strain.

Among the factors causing possible damage to health are the not infrequent delays before take-off. Passengers must sometimes sit around in a badly-ventilated cabin for hours. *Ingeborg Jahn*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 April 1972)

Immunologist warns against current rabies vaccine

One of West Germany's leading immunologists has urgently warned against the use of "hempt" vaccine, at present the only serum officially recommended for the treatment of rabies in this country.

Professor Ernst Kuwert, head of the department of medical virology and immunology at the Essen clinic run by the Ruhr University of Bochum, told a press conference in Hanover that no other vaccine failed so often or resulted in so much serious and permanent damage.

The "duck's egg" vaccine – developed in Switzerland in 1955 – is not officially recommended despite the fact that it is superior to the "hempt" vaccine obtained from the brain substances of experimental animals and has so far been used without serious side-effects.

"In four of the six cases of rabies resulting in death in recent years, patients had been injected at the correct time with the hempt vaccine," Professor Kuwert reports.

During a long series of experiments he found that half the patients injected with "hempt" had suffered a change in their brain impulses. His experiments and American investigations have shown that "hempt" vaccine causes lasting damage in one patient in two thousand.

Kuwert believes that the cause of failure is the contamination of the vaccine with remains of tissue. This tissue contains a protein leading to inflammation of the brain, he claims.

To substantiate his claim that "hempt" vaccine should be purified of all tissue remains, Kuwert pointed to the increase in the number of people being injected against rabies. He stated that some thirty thousand West Germans, mainly those from rural areas, consult innoculation centres every year.

Dr Martin Maneke of Hanover's health authorities stated that innoculation against rabies would in future be made with the safe duck's egg vaccine.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 April 1972)

Medical experts call for more measures against parasites

Malaria kills many people each year – even in the Federal Republic – because the disease is not recognised. The Parasitological Association therefore demanded at its sixth congress held in the Hanover Veterinary College that medical students should be given adequate training in parasitology.

The other problem facing parasitologists is an increase in parasites, especially tropical parasites, that survive in our temperate climatic zones and do damage.

Parasitologists therefore demand that tourists should be given more information about travel hygiene though tourists operators did not really approve of the suggestion.

Lecturers given during the congress dealt with all types of parasites ranging from amoebas to worms and highly-developed insects. Particular attention was paid to damage that could be dangerous to Man.

There was a minor scientific sensation at the Hanover congress. After more than seventy years of research work the parasitology department at the Free University of Berlin has managed to give a complete account of the life cycle of sarcosporides, one-celled parasites found in the muscles of a number of animal species.

Professor Michel Rommel reported that their cysts – anything up to a centimetre long – are found with astonishing frequency in the meat of slaughtered animals.

Research work in Berlin showed that when the meat was fed to cats or dogs isolated cysts or infected meat portions were found in their faeces and fully-developed forms of sarcosporides could be seen.

Histological examinations showed that a process of sexual development took place in the intestinal membrane of the host animals. It could also be proved that humans excrete sporocysts nine or ten days after eating infected meat. But these parasites cause humans no illness.

It is however the duty of parasitologists to develop preventive measures that will help annihilate the sarcosporides. They, like other parasites found in slaughtered animals, frequently lead to a not inconsiderable economic loss caused by a decrease in productivity in the form of a loss of weight or a decrease in milk production.

The decrease in the weight of sheep affected by liver leeches amounts to about four kilograms every three months – a financial loss of fourteen Marks. It was estimated a few years ago that 74 million Marks worth of bad liver and bad meat was thrown away by abbatoirs. This is a conservative estimate.

Research work conducted by West German parasitologists in the past 25 years has resulted in important new findings. Professor Karl Enigk, Director of the parasitology department at Hanover Veterinary College, stated that they have made an important contribution towards improving the state of health of Man and animals. But more must be done if parasites – about a quarter of all known species live parasitically – are to be fought successfully.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1972)

Health expert warns against metal content in drinking water

Scientists have now warned that drinking water in West Germany often contains such a large quantity of heavy metals that damage to health could result.

Dr Theo Kempf of the Berlin Health Authority's Institute of Water, Soil and Air Hygiene and Professor Hans Benger of the department of hygiene and microbiology at Innsbruck University stated that the concentration fixed by the World Health Organisation as dangerous was far exceeded in the worst cases.

An extremely high lead content was found in the drinking water of West Berlin houses built before 1914. Drinking water in houses built between the wars contained a lot of iron and tap water in more modern houses contained large quantities of zinc and copper ions.

Investigations conducted by the two scientists showed that the concentration of heavy metals depended on the metal used as a water pipe, the chemical composition of the water and the temperature in the supply network.

Professor Benger and Dr Kempf recommended that taps should be left running for about ten minutes first thing in the morning or if no water had been taken from them for a long period. There would then normally be no danger, they claim.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 April 1972)

OUR WORLD

Munich authorities are ridiculed after they lose the 'whore war'

Munich's authorities have succeeded in doing something no one would have considered possible. They have managed to curtail the oldest profession in the world. The ladies who operate in the area around Munich's Central Station have been put on their word of honour not to love on a commercial basis between 8.00pm and 12.30am.

This is a temporary compromise in the war between the powers-that-be and the women of easy virtue, and people from Freilassing to Flensburg are laughing their heads off about it.

The war started when police appeared recently at the portals of four houses of ill repute in the centre of town. The first wave of police tried to implement a complete ban on entry to these establishments for customers. The men were to be held back by a police cordon and the women "starved out" according to Commissioner Stogl.

On the second day of the police siege lawyers were already busily determining how legally justifiable this action was. Meanwhile at the red-light house known as *Leierkasten* (hurdygurdy) there was a spontaneous reaction by citizens.

Students came out on the side of the girls with placards demanding that the police should let them carry on with their work. Cries of "Give us back our girls!" were to be heard.

And by this time the police must have been aware that their siege each day between 7pm and 3am was a failure. It had rebounded on them like a boomerang.

Hundreds of curious spectators were drawn to the scene as the girls stripped off their bras, displayed their sexy black underwear and danced ring-a-ring-a-roses around the bemused police. Their long-distance striptease got potential clients in their audience so worked up that they broke through the police cordon.

The police gave up and did not come back. Explaining the tactical withdrawal Herr Stogl said: "We wanted to avoid bloodshed."

Meantime Stogl's boss, Police President Manfred Schreiber, made a statement that threw some light on the whole mysterious business. He said that it was not so much a question of restricting prostitution in Munich as of trying to prevent the area building up into a centre of criminal activities.

He made no bones about it that with this concentrated action (extending the no-go area came at the orders of the Upper Bavarian local authorities) he was aiming at the owner of the *Leierkasten*, Willi Schütz.

Willi Schütz, who is 52 and lives in Frankfurt, bought the house in Munich's Zweigstrasse last year at a cost of seven million Marks. Schütz is one of West Germany's top brothel owners with houses in Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Berlin, Hamburg and Kiel. "And no objections have been raised," he tells anyone who cares to ask.

It was in September last year that he opened his *Leierkasten* "flats for young ladies", for 65 young ladies in fact.

It took six months before there was a united front against Schütz. No sooner had the police been sent in than the girls issued a threat that they would remove their activities to respectable suburbs of Munich. The respectable people in the respectable suburbs wasted no time in protesting against the expected invasion of harlots.

In Solln they were taking no chances. Schoolchildren were told to keep a lookout for houses outside which furniture vans pulled up. One respectable inhabitant of Solln said: "We're at battle stations here."

As for the rest of the citizens of Munich they spent many hours trying to understand what was the sense in the battle of the bordellos. Why was this half-hearted police action instigated? For during the day when mothers and children were in the streets of Munich shopping the brothels were open for business as usual. Only when darkness fell and the night-birds descended on the City did the police swoop.

Departing Mayor of Munich Hans-Jochen Vogel skilfully avoided becoming involved in the whore war. But those who are keen to take over his position made their presence felt. Herr Zehetmeier (CSU) said: "The girls don't bother me," and Herr Kronawitter (SPD) commented: "It's better having the girls in special houses than roaming the streets soliciting."

The police campaign quickly became the most successful advertising the bordellos could have hoped for. One of the curious onlookers in the crowd said: "I never did know where to find a tart in Munich. Now I know."

Local newspaper reporters were asked by colleagues from Fleet Street, New York, Paris and Tokyo to help them get together their copy with their intimate knowledge of the scene. One Japanese reporter outside a beleaguered Eros-Centre said: "This is the most humorous story my paper has carried all year."

In typical Munich style a compromise has been hit upon. The girls have decided voluntarily to give up their immoral activities between 8pm and 12.30am.

This compromise was worked out between Munich lawyer Hermann Meßner and the police and will remain in force until the court decision has been reached.

With their newly acquired leisure time the girls have hit on several different pursuits. While some have moved to Solln and Perlach to try to find customers lured by their hot-pants and microskirts another said: "At long last I can visit the Opera again." She took herself to *La Bohème!*

Needless to say business is brisk at 12.30 every morning. One girl said: "There are so many clients in the court where we meet that we can hardly move." So far only two girls have been driven out of their apartments in Zweigstrasse for which they pay 2,170 Marks rent per month.

Carl Schmidt-Polex

(Die Zeit, 21 April 1972)

The DSP – West Germany's true blue party

Politically active West Germans who are not attracted by what the right and left wings have to offer, but tend rather towards the liberal centre, now have an alternative, the DSP or Deutsche Sex Partei.

This is a party whose leaders call on the people of this country to admit their deep-seated urges. It was started in 1970 by the publisher of several of the St Pauli newspapers and magazines.

The founder Joachim Driessen resigned as party chairman on 25 March and the DSP has elected Curt C. Bauer, 31, to take his place. Herr Bauer said in a speech shortly before the opening of the DSP national HQ in Wiesbaden that now the party would seek "a rational political line".

The DSP will express its opinions on every important political subject, including the Treaties with Moscow and Warsaw. It is at present considering when it will put up its first candidates for election.

In 1970, when the sex boom was at its climax membership of the party was about 14,000, but it fell back to about 2,500. According to Curt C. Bauer it has now risen again to 8,600 of which 85 per cent are male. The party has four Federal state groups and 19 offices.

The monthly subscription of two Marks entitles the DSP members to the party organ *DSP-Intim*, which carries "important party-political information".

The remainder of the 64-page publication carries rather un-political news and pictures, which Chairman Bauer admits is "rather raw sex and porn".

At party meetings the assembly votes on whether the motion on the agenda "presentation of a pornographic film with a discussion following" should be passed.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 April 1972)

The oldest non-profession

Immoral earnings are not approved by the laws of the land and therefore prostitution does not enjoy protection under Article 12 of Basic Law concerning the free exercise of one's profession, according to Munich Administrative Court. This is another blow for the Munich whores and their pimps. A spokesman for the court said: "It is a moot point whether prostitution can be regarded as a profession at all."

Landlords, agents and the girls had called on the court to declare illegal the barricading of brothels in the centre of Munich by police. They claimed this was wilful prevention of the right to exercise their profession.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 25 April 1972)

Police re-named

Britain's Bobbies and France's flics now have a German counterpart – the Polli. The new name is designed to supercede the unfriendly handle *Bulle* (bull) that has been applied to West German police, and may make regional names such as *Schupo* (Berlin) and *Udel* (Hamburg) obsolete as well.

"Polli" was decided upon by the Interior Ministers of North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland Palatinate, Willi Weyer and Heinz Schwarz, together with representatives of the police, ADAC (the motoring club), the press and Radio Luxembourg. The radio station received 10,000 cards from people suggesting a more pleasant name for the cops.

One suggestion that was only just beaten was "Bulli", the "i" at the end sounding more amiable than the old "Bulle". Willi Weyer was utterly opposed to this suggestion and arranged a special round of voting to edge it into second place.

Weyer's favourite was "Bobby" but this only made third place. He thought that as the British Bobby was a watchword the world over it would be ideal to give the West German police a better image.

Among the suggestions that were slung out were Flipper, Flitzer, Sheriff, Putzi, Charly, Spezie, Sonny und Kuckie!

In order to get the public used to the new name a record is being released entitled *Ohne Pollis geht es nicht*, in other words "we can't do without our friend and helper".

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 April 1972)

NEWS IN BRIEF

Young help old

Frankfurt is the first city in the Federal Republic to start an unusual scheme to benefit its senior citizens. From 10 April groups of young people have offered their services to the old, going shopping for them, making beds, shifting furniture and papering walls. For the old people the service is free. For the young it is compulsory. They are conscientious objectors carrying out their conscription period in the social service in preference to the army.

The Frankfurt scheme is designed to keep the old people fairly independent and out of old folks' homes for as long as possible. The law has been changed so that this young-helping-old scheme can be implemented.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 April 1972)

Minister for sale

If you are in Mannheim you can buy a Minister but if your demands are not so great you can content yourself with a burgomaster. Ministers and *Oberbürgermeister* will be available at an auction in the largest local exhibition to be held in the Federal Republic, the Mannheim "Mai Market".

People in the Rheinau district of Mannheim came up with the idea of a modern slave market in order to raise money for a children's playground.

Peter Frankenfeld, a well-known quizmaster, will be the auctioneer. The most prominent "slave" will be the Baden-Württemberg Minister of the Interior Walter Krause.

Burgomaster Hans Reschko has agreed that he will go for a stroll with whoever bids the highest for him. American Colonel Torgerson has invited the married couple that bids the highest for him to a meal at the officers' mess.

Schoolchildren have volunteered to come under the hammer and do garden work for whoever makes the highest offer. Others have offered their services to families whose children need extra coaching in maths and other subjects. Another "lot" will be a FIFA referee who will offer to give private coaching to whichever football team manager makes the top transfer bid and finally a journalist has put himself up as a slave. Whoever bids the highest for him will have his biography written by an expert hand.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 April 1972)

Truth to tell

Women in West Germany are apparently greater sticklers for the truth than their male counterparts, according to a Wickert Institute (Tübingen) survey. Thirty-eight per cent of women answered the question "Should you always tell the truth" in the affirmative while only thirty-two per cent of the men said Yes.

While 57 per cent of the women among the 2,067 people surveyed thought it was not essential to tell the whole truth the figure for the men was 53 per cent. Five per cent of the women and fifteen per cent of the men were don't-knows.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 April 1972)

Holiday time

A customer went into a Hamburg travel agency and said: "This year I would like to spend a four-week holiday in Italy. Could you please tell me when the Italian strike season is on so that I can plan my holiday accordingly."

(Die Welt, 6 April 1972)

SPORT

Uwe Seeler retires from soccer



(Photo: Nordbild)

Uwe Seeler took his final curtain as a professional footballer in Hamburg on May Day. A star-studded gala fixture marked the end of a career he began as a schoolboy player with HSV, the Hamburg club, on 1 January 1946.

Seeler is one of the most popular players in post-war football in this country. He makes no bones about the secret of his success. Interviewers expecting some secret formula or other are simply told that he goes on to the pitch determined to give of his best.

He has done so some seven hundred times in league fixtures for HSV, in Cup games and in internationals. In a grand total of roughly 800 games he has scored 700 goals. Seeler would not like to swear to the exact number but this figure, he says, is more or less accurate.

Uwe Seeler was born in Hamburg on 5 November 1936 the son of docker and amateur football player Erwin Seeler. He is personally convinced that his success has been exclusively due to these 700 goals.

„Goals are the thing," he maintains. "If you score them everything in the garden is lovely. If you don't . . . well, you don't, and there it is."

"Particularly good at football," Uwe Seeler's school-leaving certificate noted. He went on to serve an apprenticeship as a forwarding agent and now runs a flourishing agency for three sportswear and sports equipment manufacturers.

On the field of play the goals he has scored over more than a quarter of a century have included a good many that have been of crucial importance.

Take, for instance, the goal that put this country 2-1 ahead in the return leg of the 1966 World Cup qualifying game against Sweden in Stockholm, a goal that took West Germany to the World Cup final against England in Wembley.

Then there were the goals he scored in Mexico in 1970 that earned this country third place after Brazil and Italy in the last World Cup competition.

Not to mention the goals that took his club to the top in the 1960 league and 1963 Cup competitions and a number of European Cups, including the title of runner-up in the 1969 Cup-Winners' Cup competition.

Yet although Uwe's goals have provided record-book compilers with an opportunity of charting his career in terms of goal averages they have really been no more than milestones along a straight and narrow path.

Seeler's career coincides with and in many ways resembles the period of post-war reconstruction in this country. Since the war the Federal Republic has worked its way up from a virtual statistical zero to prosperity and this development is symbolised in many respects by the career and person of none other than Uwe Seeler.

Seeler's career graphically demonstrated that even in the austere post-war years anyone could achieve success if he was only prepared not to be disheartened by setbacks and took care not to let initial successes go to his head.

A number of youngsters in the world of sport got off to a similar start in the early post-war years but none, let us remember, were to gain a reputation as proverbial as Uwe's.

"Hard work, no hanky panky, not much in the way of excitement but a good, reliable performance" is the way Uwe Seeler likes to view the past and present course of his career in his home on a site sold to him by the club for a nominal price of a Mark a square metre many years ago.

"Our Uwe" booted his way to the status of a national hero and when, on 20 February 1965, he sustained an Achilles tendon injury in a Federal league needle match against Eintracht in Frankfurt the question whether he would ever be able to play football again assumed the proportion of an issue of national importance that was the subject of public debate for weeks and months.

Adidas of Herzogenaurach manufactured football boots tailor-made to the requirements of Uwe's injured foot. This news item alone was the subject of a half-page article in *Bild Zeitung*, the Hamburg national daily.

Even *Die Zeit*, the highbrow Hamburg weekly, listed the injuries that Uwe Seeler has surmounted and disregarded to keep on scoring those winning goals. They include two heel operations, a foot operation, a number of muscle operations and a natural deformity of the fifth and sixth discs of his spine.

Seeler remained loyal to Hamburg and this country despite tempting offers from abroad. He refused an offer of 900,000 Marks to go to Italy. Yet the officials of

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Inter Milan, staying at Hamburg's Reichshof Hotel, offered him not only this formidable transfer fee but also a monthly salary of 10,000 Marks.

When his decision to stay in Hamburg despite this undeniably handsome offer was finally confirmed *Bild Zeitung* printed a picture proclaiming, in Uwe's own handwriting, that "I have not signed, Uwe Seeler."

This was in 1961, Helenio Herrera, nicknamed the slave-driver and the highest paid football trainer in the world, coming to Hamburg in person with the offer. At that time Uwe was on paper earning a mere 500 Marks a month with his Hamburg club.

Unofficially of course he was in receipt of additional bonuses but nevertheless Seeler's monthly income from football amounted in those days to little more than 2,000 Marks.

In point of fact one of the main reasons why Uwe Seeler rejected Milan's offer will have been the guarantee given by Adidas, the sportwear manufacturers.

Adidas may not have undertaken to pay him staggering sums of money but by the terms of the contract he could be sure of a steady and, to all intents and purposes, lifelong income comparable with the salary of a top-flight industrial manager.

This, of course, was not mentioned at the time. In connection with the transfer bid Professor Helmut Thielicke, the well-known Protestant theologian and at that time Vice-Chancellor of the university, made the following appeal to "Dear Herr Seeler":

"By resisting this temptation you will be setting a glorious example that ought to make people stop and think before departing from the straight and narrow."

Seeler obliged and remained true to his reputation of being, again to quote Professor Thielicke, "a shining example of the conscience and moral earnest of sport."

Sports reporters need have no qualms about voting him Footballer of the Year in the annual poll taken by *Kicker*, the football paper. The same goes for the Federal Order of Merit with which he was presented – to a glare of publicity – by Interior Minister Hans-Dieter Genscher.

In terms of performance Seeler may well long since have been overtaken by, say, Franz Beckenbauer or Gerd Müller but he has yet to be outsted as a symbolic figure.

Beckenbauer and Müller may know more about technique than Seeler ever did even at the peak of his career. Football techniques have become so complex that both men can lay claim to be strategists of the field of play. Yet neither or them can match Uwe in popularity as a public figure.

Sport has indeed grown subject to forces so powerful that it is virtually impossible for individual players to develop sporting personalities of their own.

Seeler made a name for himself on the basis of his outstanding talent. Nowadays talent is taken for granted at the outset of a career, which then develops along prearranged lines. It is difficult, if not impossible, to break out of this vicious circle.

At the pinnacle of his career an athlete is subject to the requirements of a sports set-up that is, to a large extent, commercialised and nationalised. Money is what counts, not the feelings of the terrace fans.

The retirement of footballer Uwe Seeler thus probably marks the end of a sporting era in which personality was still predominant over financial inducements – and in which personality counted for more even than performance.

Bodo Harenberg

(Handelsblatt, 21 April 1972)

Equestrian fair held at Essen

Essen's Equitania, the first equestrian fair, took place at the Gruga exhibition grounds from 27 April to 1 May. Leisure time on horseback was the motto chosen by 152 exhibitions from six countries to attract not only horsemen but also the general public.

This country boasts a quarter of a million members of riding clubs and at least seven times as many horseriders who are not paid-up members of clubs.

Then there are any number of horse-lovers whose acquaintanceship with equestrianism is limited to racetracks, show-jumping tournaments and the TV screen.

As the country grows increasingly urbanised the number of people who know how to handle horses is steadily declining. Horses are growing increasingly uncommon in the countryside, too. There are young farmers who have never handled a horse.

Only two per cent of the horses in this country are still used on the farm. The remainder serve sporting purposes.

Some 180 stallions, mares, foals and ponies were the real live exhibits at Essen. There were twelve thoroughbreds from Poland, eighteen from Holland and a considerable number of all kinds from Britain, a country with a lively stud tradition.

The Rhineland is well-known for Welsh ponies and first-rate stud stock. North German studs were also well represented and horses from Denmark and Portugal were also on show.

Horseriding has assumed the proportions of a popular sport in recent years. Equestrianism for the general public calls for a suitable breed of horse. It is up to breeders to deliver the goods a sturdy, reliable, even-tempered horse with stamina.

Studs in this country are still largely geared to racing requirements, largely for financial reasons.

They mainly come from Eastern Bloc countries and cost between 3,000 and 6,000 Marks. The prices paid for race-horses and show-jumping ponies vary and are not divulged any too readily but can be said to range between 15,000 and 300,000 Marks.

The average rider cannot, of course, afford to pay prices of this kind. There is no reason why he should. And should he have any money left over the manufacturers of accessories have plenty to offer.

In this country there are some 800 firms specialising in goods for the equestrian market. Two hundred of them exhibited their wares at Equitania.

For the most part they are small fry and the idea is to provide a clearer picture of the range of goods available. There can certainly be no doubt that the market is expanding. Horseriding is, like tennis and yachting, well on its way to becoming a sport for the masses.

The latest in saddles, bridles and riding gear was on show at Essen but formed only a fraction of the show. The new developments exhibited at Essen included, for instance, a horsebox container that can be mounted on a lorry. It is rubber-mounted, upholstered and boasts air conditioning.

There was also a mobile stable with a tiled roof that can easily be erected next to a weekend cottage. Fodder manufacturers unveiled five-kilo packs of special fodder for horses of specified breeds and ages. They are guaranteed to contain a balanced diet of vitamins and other foods.

Riding instructors are few and far between. Demand has far outstripped supply. A monitor has been developed to take over part of the training. But pundits are sceptical about audio-visual training methods.

Marlen Schmitz

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